

# SPECIAL REPORT: THE CHOICE

# TIME

## VOTE ROMNEY

BY RICH LOWRY

STILL  
UNDECIDED?  
*How to choose*  
pg 48

UNDECIDED  
LIKE ME  
By Joel Stein  
pg 70

## VOTE OBAMA

BY E.J. DIONNE JR.

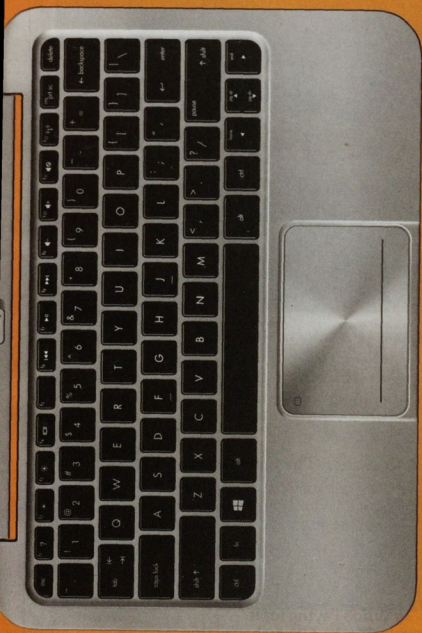
SPECIAL REPORT

# Connect to work.





Microsoft



 Windows 8

HP ENVY x2

# Remove to play.

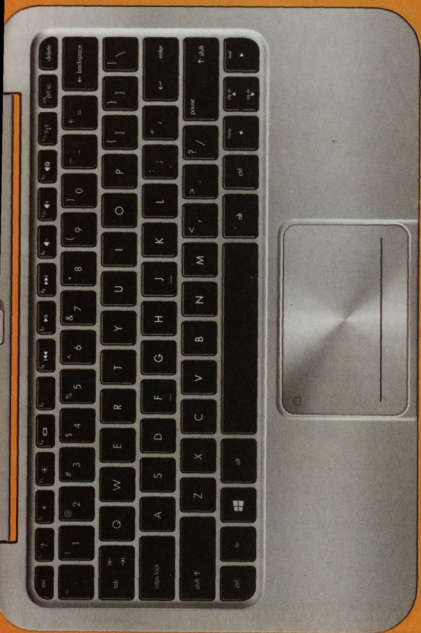
Watch Hulu. Tweak a PowerPoint deck. Stream a season on Netflix. Hurl Angry Birds or send happy emails. Finally, a PC that works hard and plays hard. With Windows 8, you can have professional-grade PC power and full-on entertainment. It's business in the front and party in the back. It's what you've been waiting for.







Microsoft



 Windows 8

HP ENVY x2

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*Hurricane Sandy floods a car dealership in Monmouth County, New Jersey.  
Photograph by Ed Kashi—VII for TIME*

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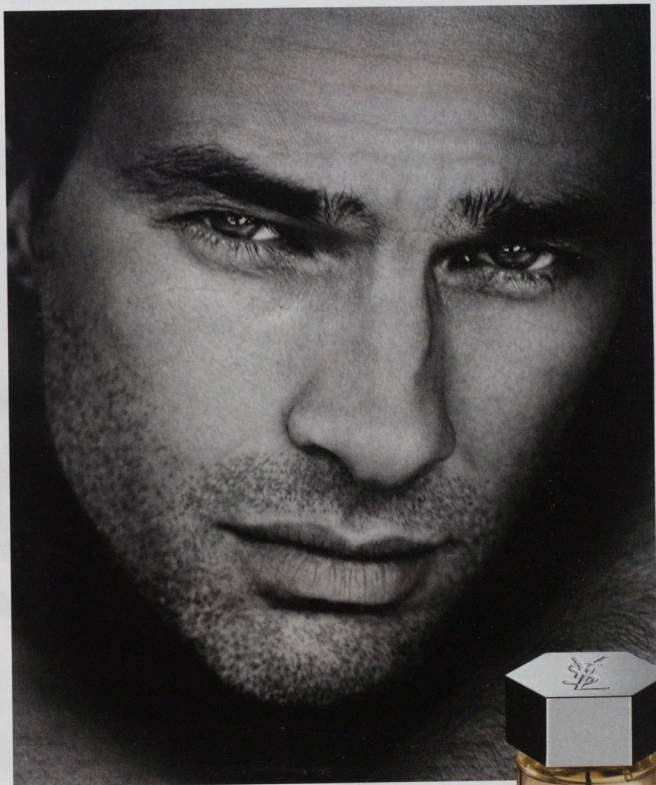
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Olivier Martinez

# L'HOMME YVES SAINT LAURENT

SHEER MAGNETISM

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An indoor cloud  
created by Dutch artist  
Berndnaut Smilde



## THE 25 BEST INVENTIONS OF THE YEAR page 55

### 1 Indoor Clouds

Weather's  
silver lining

### 2 Civilization Starter Kit

Building life's  
necessities yourself

### 3 Handy Screwdriver

It's got the motion

### 4 LiquiGlide

A surface anything  
will slide off

### 5 Home HIV Test

Identifies infectious  
antibodies

### 6 Solar Water Distiller

Efficient purifier

### 7 Special Gloves

Sign language

### 8 TechPet

Pup with a  
smart-phone face

### 9 Nike Flyknit Racer

Eco-friendly  
sneaker

### 10 Self-Inflating Tires

Grace under  
pressure

### 11 Bounce Imaging

High-tech  
surveillance

### 12 Body Armor

The right fit

### 13 Sony RX100

Flawless  
photography

### 14 Wingsuit Racing

A sport for batlike  
humans

### 15 Google Glass

Augmented reality,  
in focus

### 16 MakerBot Replicator 2

A 3-D printer that  
acts like a factory

### 17 Baxter

A cheaper  
industrial robot

### 18 Tesla Model S

An electric four-door  
does it all

### 19 Switchblade Drone

Portable kamikaze

### 20 Drifting Fish Farm

Mariculture

### 21 NASA's Z-1 Space Suit

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takes a plunge

### 24 Al Bahar Towers

Abu Dhabi cool

### 25 Curiosity Rover

Unlocking Mars'  
mysteries



GIVE YOURSELF

# 1,000 REASONS

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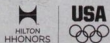


Waldorf Astoria Park City, Utah

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# Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

Reinventing  
College

What Would  
Lincoln Do?

Mitt and  
the Bomber  
Boys

## A Time for Choosing



FOR THOSE OF US IN THE Northeast, Hurricane Sandy tested all kinds of systems—the logistical, the political, the personal—and like all tests, it revealed a lot about who we are. It showed that our infrastructure is fragile but our hearts are not. Yet as with so many of the disasters of the past decade—I'm thinking especially of Katrina—some of the tragedy was man-made. Bryan Walsh's story this week finds our electrical grid is ancient, our transportation infrastructure is from the last century, we still build where we should not and much of our political leadership ignores the effects of climate change. What all of that does is take a grave natural disaster and make it much worse.

At the same time, on the eve of the presidential election, the storm reminds us how important the role of government is in a crisis. The affected states and their governors have been exemplary. But when a disaster spans an entire region and does billions of dollars in damage, the support of Washington is essential. So this issue has a voter's guide to who will lead the federal government. Rich Lowry, the editor of *National Review*, makes the case for Governor Romney, and E.J. Dionne, a columnist for the *Washington Post*, argues that re-electing President Obama is the better path. The choice is yours.

For this issue, our U.S. readers will be receiving different covers (though inside, the magazine is the same for everyone). In the storm-ravaged Northeast, our cover spotlights our Hurricane Sandy story with a dramatic image captured for TIME by photographer Benjamin Lowy using Instagram. The rest of the country—about two-thirds of our readers—will see covers with a Venn diagram for our election special. There are two versions: one has the case for Romney on top; the other has the case for Obama on top. Regardless of which you receive, you can turn it 180 degrees to put a different candidate on top. It's up to you.

*Rich*

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



## Abe in Color

TIME commissioned artist Sanna Dullaway to reimagine and digitally color photos of Abraham Lincoln for our Nov. 5 cover package. The result: a vibrant, modern look at the 16th President—and one of LightBox's most popular posts of the year. ("Totally awesome," commented one reader on our site.) Find the series at [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)

## THE CONVERSATION

**"The best thing I have read today, or maybe all year."**

That was how the Seattle *Times'* **Moir Macdonald** described a much discussed anecdote in senior editor **Jessica Winter's** profile of **Daniel Day-Lewis** in TIME's Nov. 5 issue. The piece was part of our cover package on **Abraham Lincoln**, which explored the 16th President's legacy along with **Steven Spielberg's** new film *Lincoln* (starring Day-Lewis in the title role). As Winter wrote, the actor was so deeply immersed in his character that before filming, he texted 19th century limericks to co-star **Sally Field** (who plays First Lady Mary Todd), signing them "Yours, A." TIME's screening of the historical drama and managing editor **Rick Stengel's** postfilm interview with Spielberg, Day-Lewis and screenwriter Tony Kushner also drew buzz, including an appreciative tweet from **Oprah Winfrey**: "Woke up spirit still full from @LincolnMovie. Art recreating history. Searing. Powerful. Intimate. Personal."

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FROM EXECUTIVE PRODUCER MICHAEL MANN AND DIRECTOR DAVID FRANKHAM

# WITNESSES: JUAREZ

HBO DOCUMENTARY FILMS PRESENTS A BLUELIGHT MEDIA PRODUCTION A LITTLE PUPPET PRODUCTION WITNESS: JUAREZ

FEATURING EROS HOAGLAND CINEMATOGRAPHER JARED MOOSSY EDITOR ZAC STUART-PONTIER PRODUCERS IKE MARTIN ALLISON KUNZMAN YOREE HENLEY

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## MAIL



## Lessons from Lincoln

After reading literally hundreds of books and articles on Abraham Lincoln for my writing projects and *Lincoln Live* performances, I don't expect to learn much that's new on the topic ["Lincoln to the Rescue," Nov. 5]. But your adaptation of David Von Drehle's book is an exception. It's wise, beautifully written, deeply informed, full of insights—a joy to read.

Gene Griessman,  
ATLANTA

One great secret of Lincoln's success was to give in or agree on everything that was of lesser importance or on which two sides had equal claim. This helped him establish himself as fair. I think that lesson could be learned by today's talking heads, who always claim everything is a victory. At the risk of being partisan—I am a Mitt Romney supporter—I saw not a Romney loss in the third debate but a Lincoln-esque quality to his agreeing with Barack Obama. And I think among those who are not diehard Democrats, there was a sense that Romney carried the points he needed to carry.

kenbradshaw,  
ON TIME.COM

## College Crisis

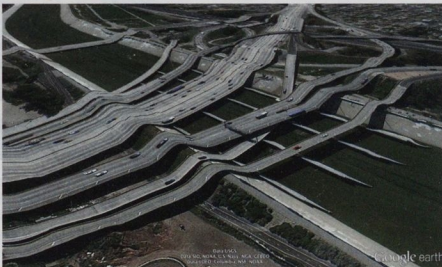
As a longtime professor, I appreciated your "Reinventing College" package, with essays by Romney and Obama [Oct. 29]. Unfortunately, both missed the key point of a college education: to sharpen students' minds so they become independent thinkers. Both stressed the importance only of science and engineering to serve the needs of corporations. If we don't provide equal support for liberal arts and the humanities, who will uphold and maintain our democracy?

Winberg Chai,  
Professor Emeritus of Political Science,  
University of Wyoming,  
LARAMIE, WYO.

## WRITE TO US

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Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020.  
Letters should include the writer's full name,  
address and home telephone and may be  
edited for purposes of clarity and space



## Street Art

"Inspiration is truly everywhere," @MoMAtalks said of our LightBox essay on how Google Images are influencing artists, including Clement Valla, whose *Postcards from Google Earth* (above) show the glitches involved in stretching satellite photos to fit the planet's surface. See more at [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com).

The odds of a student's taking out loans vary widely from school to school. A report we released in October, "Student Debt and the Class of 2011," found that individual colleges had borrowing rates as low as 12% of students and as high as 100%, with average debt for graduates ranging from \$3,000 to \$50,000. A critical and still underutilized tool is Income-Based Repayment (IBR), a federal program available since

2009. IBR caps monthly payments for federal loans at a manageable share of income and forgives remaining debt after up to 25 years of payments (or as little as 10 years for those in public or nonprofit jobs). And enrolling in IBR just got easier with a new online application at [studentloans.gov](http://studentloans.gov).

Lauren Asher, President,  
The Institute for College Access & Success,  
OAKLAND, CALIF.

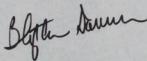
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chose Prolia®.  
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Blythe Danner  
Award winning actress  
taking Prolia®



**Prolia®** is a prescription medicine used to treat osteoporosis in women after menopause who:

- are at high risk for fracture, meaning women who have had a fracture related to osteoporosis, or who have multiple risk factors for fracture
- cannot use another osteoporosis medicine or other osteoporosis medicines did not work well



## Important Safety Information

**Do not take Prolia® if you** have low blood calcium, are pregnant or plan to become pregnant, or are allergic to denosumab or any ingredients in Prolia®.

### **What is the most important information I should know about Prolia®?**

If you receive Prolia®, you should not receive XGEVA®. Prolia® contains the same medicine as XGEVA® (denosumab).

### **Prolia® can cause serious side effects:**

#### **Low calcium levels in your blood (hypocalcemia).**

Prolia® may lower the calcium levels in your blood. If you have low blood calcium, it may get worse during treatment. Your low blood calcium must be treated before you receive Prolia®.

Your doctor may prescribe calcium and vitamin D to help prevent low calcium levels in your blood. Take calcium and vitamin D as your doctor tells you to.

**Serious infections.** Serious infections in your skin, lower stomach area (abdomen), bladder, or ear may happen. Inflammation of the inner lining of the heart (endocarditis) due to an infection may also happen more often in people who take Prolia®. You may need to go to the hospital for treatment.

Prolia® is a medicine that may affect your immune system. People who have weakened immune systems or take medicines that affect the immune system may have an increased risk for developing serious infections.

**Skin problems.** Skin problems such as inflammation of your skin (dermatitis), rash, and eczema have been reported.

**Severe jaw bone problems (osteonecrosis).** Severe jaw bone problems may occur. Your doctor should examine your mouth before you start Prolia® and may tell you to see your dentist. It is important for you to practice good mouth care during treatment with Prolia®.

For women with postmenopausal osteoporosis  
at high risk for fracture: there's **Prolia®**.

## Prolia® 2 shots a year proven to help strengthen bones.

Prolia® is different. It's a shot given 2 times a year  
in your doctor's office.

### Prolia® is proven to:

- Significantly reduce fractures of the spine, hip, and other bones
- Help increase bone density

Is Prolia® right for you? Ask your doctor today.

**By Prescription Only.**

**Unusual thigh bone fractures.** Unusual thigh bone fractures have been reported.

### Before taking Prolia®, tell your doctor if you:

- Are taking a medicine called XGEVA® (denosumab). XGEVA® contains the same medicine as Prolia®.
- Have low blood calcium.
- Cannot take daily calcium and vitamin D.
- Had parathyroid or thyroid surgery (glands located in your neck).
- Have been told you have trouble absorbing minerals in your stomach or intestines (malabsorption syndrome).
- Have kidney problems or are on kidney dialysis.
- Plan to have dental surgery or teeth removed.
- Are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- Are breast-feeding or plan to breast-feed.

### What are the possible side effects of Prolia®?

It is not known if the use of Prolia® over a long period of time may cause slow healing of broken bones or unusual fractures. The most common side effects of Prolia® are back pain, pain in your

arms and legs, high cholesterol, muscle pain, and bladder infection.

These are not all the possible side effects of Prolia®.

For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects.

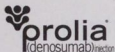
**You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.**

**Please see Brief Summary of Medication Guide on the next page.**

**Ask your doctor about your bone strength and if Prolia® is right for you.**







## BRIEF SUMMARY OF MEDICATION GUIDE

### Prolia® (PRŌ-lee-a) (denosumab) Injection

Read the Medication Guide that comes with Prolia before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. The Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment. Talk to your doctor if you have any questions about Prolia.

#### What is the most important information I should know about Prolia?

If you receive Prolia, you should not receive XGEVA®. Prolia contains the same medicine as Xgeva (denosumab).

#### Prolia can cause serious side effects including:

##### 1. Low calcium levels in your blood (hypocalcemia).

Prolia may lower the calcium levels in your blood. If you have low blood calcium before you start receiving Prolia, it may get worse during treatment. Your low blood calcium must be treated before you receive Prolia. Most people with low blood calcium levels do not have symptoms, but some people may have symptoms. Call your doctor right away if you have symptoms of low blood calcium such as:

- Spasms, twitches, or cramps in your muscles
- Numbness or tingling in your fingers, toes, or around your mouth
- Your doctor may prescribe calcium and vitamin D to help prevent low calcium levels in your blood while you take Prolia. Take calcium and vitamin D as your doctor tells you to.

##### 2. Serious infections.

Serious infections in your skin, lower stomach area (abdomen), bladder, or ear may happen if you take Prolia. Inflammation of the inner lining of the heart (endocarditis) due to an infection also may happen more often in people who take Prolia. You may need to go to the hospital for treatment if you develop an infection.

Prolia is a medicine that may affect your immune system. People who have weakened immune system or take medicines that affect the immune system may have an increased risk for developing serious infections.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the following symptoms of infection:

- Fever or chills
- Skin that looks red or swollen and is hot or tender to touch
- Severe abdominal pain
- Frequent or urgent need to urinate or burning feeling when you urinate

##### 3. Skin problems.

Skin problems such as inflammation of your skin (dermatitis), rash, and eczema may happen if you take Prolia. Call your doctor if you have any of the following symptoms of skin problems that do not go away or get worse:

- Redness
- Itching
- Small bumps or patches (rash)
- Your skin is dry or feels like leather
- Blisters that ooze or become crusty
- Skin peeling

##### 4. Severe jaw bone problems (osteonecrosis).

Severe jaw bone problems may happen when you take Prolia. Your doctor should examine your mouth before you start Prolia. Your doctor may tell you to see your dentist before you start Prolia. It is important for you to practice good mouth care during treatment with Prolia.

##### 5. Unusual thigh bone fractures.

Some people have developed unusual fractures in their thigh bone. Symptoms of a fracture include new or unusual pain in your hip, groin, or thigh.

#### Call your doctor right away if you have any of these side effects.

#### What is Prolia?

Prolia is a prescription medicine used to:

- Treat osteoporosis (thinning and weakening of bone) in women after menopause ("change of life") who:
  - are at high risk for fracture (broken bone).
  - cannot use another osteoporosis medicine or other osteoporosis medicines did not work well.

It is not known if Prolia is safe and effective in children.

#### Who should not take Prolia?

##### Do not take Prolia if you:

- have been told by your doctor that your blood calcium level is too low.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant.
- are allergic to denosumab or any of the ingredients in Prolia. See the end of this leaflet for a complete list of ingredients in Prolia.

#### What should I tell my doctor before taking Prolia?

##### Before taking Prolia, tell your doctor if you:

- Are taking a medicine called Xgeva (denosumab). Xgeva contains the same medicine as Prolia.

- Have low blood calcium.
- Cannot take daily calcium and vitamin D.
- Had parathyroid or thyroid surgery (glands located in your neck).
- Have been told you have trouble absorbing minerals in your stomach or intestines (malabsorption syndrome).
- Have kidney problems or are on kidney dialysis.
- Plan to have dental surgery or teeth removed.
- Are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Prolia may harm your unborn baby. Tell your doctor right away if you become pregnant while taking Prolia.

**Pregnancy Surveillance Program:** Prolia is not intended for use in pregnant women. If you become pregnant while taking Prolia, talk to your doctor about enrolling in Amgen's Pregnancy Surveillance Program or call 1-800-772-6436 (1-800-77-AMGEN). The purpose of this program is to collect information about women who have become pregnant while taking Prolia.

- Are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if Prolia passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take Prolia or breastfeed. You should not do both.

**Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take,** including prescription and nonprescription drugs, vitamins, and herbal supplements.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of medicines with you to show to your doctor or pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

#### How will I receive Prolia?

- Prolia is an injection that will be given to you by a healthcare professional.

Prolia is injected under your skin (subcutaneous).

- You will receive Prolia 1 time every 6 months.
- You should take calcium and vitamin D as your doctor tells you to while you receive Prolia.
- If you miss a dose of Prolia, you should receive your injection as soon as you can.
- Take good care of your teeth and gums while you receive Prolia. Brush and floss your teeth regularly.
- Tell your dentist that you are receiving Prolia before you have dental work.

#### What are the possible side effects of Prolia?

Prolia may cause serious side effects.

- See "What is the most important information I should know about Prolia?"

- It is not known if the use of Prolia over a long period of time may cause slow healing of broken bones.

The most common side effects of Prolia in women who are being treated for osteoporosis after menopause are:

- back pain
- pain in your arms and legs
- high cholesterol
- muscle pain
- bladder infection

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all the possible side effects of Prolia. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

#### How should I store Prolia if I need to pick it up from a pharmacy?

- Keep Prolia in a refrigerator at 36°F to 46°F (2°C to 8°C) in the original carton.
- Do not freeze Prolia.
- When you remove Prolia from the refrigerator, Prolia must be kept at room temperature (up to 77°F (25°C)) in the original carton and must be used within 14 days.
- Do not keep Prolia at temperatures above 77°F (25°C). Warm temperatures will affect how Prolia works.
- Do not shake Prolia.
- Keep Prolia in the original carton to protect from light.

#### Keep Prolia and all medicines out of reach of children.

#### General information about Prolia

Do not give Prolia to other people even if they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them.

The Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about Prolia. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about Prolia that is written for health professionals.

For more information, go to [www.Prolia.com](http://www.Prolia.com) or call Amgen at 1-800-772-6436.

#### What are the ingredients in Prolia?

Active ingredient: denosumab

Inactive ingredients: sorbitol, acetate, polysorbate 20 (prefilled syringe only), Water for Injection (USP), and sodium hydroxide



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# Briefing

## 'The ocean is in the road.'

1. **DAVID ARNOLD**, resident of Long Branch, N.J., commenting on the surge of water from Hurricane Sandy. Coastal areas saw massive flooding, with towns in New Jersey (below) hit especially hard

'If you think right now I give a damn about presidential politics, then you don't know me.'

2. **CHRIS CHRISTIE**, governor of New Jersey, when asked if Mitt Romney would tour areas hit by Hurricane Sandy; he had previously lauded Obama's "outstanding" crisis management performance

## 'The truce lasted more or less four hours.'

3. **JENS LAERKE**, U.N. spokesman, on a failed cease-fire in Syria's now 19-month-long civil war

'The people of Ukraine deserve so much better.'

4. **HILLARY CLINTON**, U.S. Secretary of State, slamming Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich's ruling party, which allegedly influenced the country's parliamentary elections through secrecy and corruption

## 'We decided it was better to get in early rather than be a follower.'

5. **JOHN MAKINSON**, chief executive of Penguin, explaining the company's merger with Random House, which could set off similar consolidations in the publishing industry

## 85

Speed limit, in miles per hour (137 km/h), of the U.S.'s new fastest highway, which runs from Austin to San Antonio



## 65%

Percentage of alcohol by volume of Armageddon, a new Scottish beer, believed to be the world's strongest

## \$4 BILLION

Amount Disney paid to acquire Lucasfilm; the Mouse House will release a new Star Wars movie in 2015



## 10,000

Jobs to be cut at Swiss bank UBS, in one of the largest single rounds of layoffs in finance since the 2008 crisis



Briefing

# LightBox





**Red statement**

*A red-clad Romney supporter clutches two American flags during an Oct. 27 rally at a football stadium in Land O' Lakes, Fla. The Romney campaign hopes to win Florida, a pivotal swing state*

**Photograph by Christopher Morris—VII for TIME**  
[lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)



## World



Smoke rises as rebels and government forces clash in Aleppo

## The Cease-Fire That Wasn't

**1 | SYRIA** The failure of a recent four-day cease-fire in Syria couldn't have surprised U.N. special envoy Lakhdar Brahimi. Having mediated in Lebanon and Afghanistan, the veteran Algerian diplomat knows that a civil war ends only when the parties want a solution as much as the mediator does. And as proved by the fierce fighting that has raged across the country, neither the regime of President Bashar Assad nor Syria's rebels is ready to end the conflict.

"Brahimi knew that Syria would get a lot worse before it gets better," says Joshua Landis, a Syria specialist at the University of Oklahoma. "There's no prospect of a political solution right now because there's no compromise acceptable to both sides. Nor is a military solution imminent, because neither side is capable of destroying the other."

The regime and rebel leaders agreed, largely for diplomatic reasons, to hold their fire during the 'Id al-Adha Muslim holiday. Each side vowed to retaliate if attacked, preparing to blame the other for breaking the truce, which collapsed within hours of taking effect. With no monitoring mechanisms in place, there was no way of establishing who fired first. Not that it mattered, because neither side was serious about ending the fighting.

Brahimi was disappointed but not discouraged, he said on Oct. 29, "because Syria is very important, and the people of Syria deserve our support and interest."

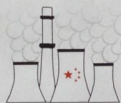
Indeed, a war that has claimed at least 20,000 lives has also stirred up rival factions in Iraq, Lebanon and Turkey, threatening regionwide destabilization. Brahimi has at least managed to establish himself as the go-to address for the Syrian combatants and their foreign sponsors when they opt to sue for peace. The rebels reject negotiations with the Assad regime but lack the firepower to destroy it. The regime has lost control over extensive territory, but its air power, artillery and tactical cohesion still give it a decisive military edge. The resulting stalemate is reinforced by a pre-existing regional power struggle that pits Iran and its Shi'ite allies in Iraq's government, who back Assad, against a Sunni Muslim camp led by Saudi Arabia, which together with Turkey and Qatar ensures that arms and funds reach the rebels.

Given the impasse, the stakeholders in Syria's conflict are waiting to see what sort of renewed interest the U.S. will take in it after the Nov. 6 presidential election. But even if the rebels receive weapons that could make for a more equal military contest, it's unlikely to turn into a rout. Brahimi knows that sooner or later, his services will be required to broker a peace reflecting the balance of forces on the ground. —TONY KARON

## BRAZIL



Number of small dogs per 100 people in Brazil, the highest per capita total in the world; most are owned by the country's rising middle class



## When Protests Pay Off

**2 | CHINA** Local officials acquiesced after demonstrators—mostly members of the urban middle class, galvanized by social media—rallied in the city of Ningbo against the expansion of a petrochemical plant. Similar "not in my backyard" protests in major Chinese cities have forced authorities to back down.

## AUGUST 2011

Thousands of protesters in the northeastern city of Dalian go on a permitted "group stroll" and force a chemical plant to shut down

## MARCH 2008

Shanghai residents worried about noise pollution gather in the streets and successfully block plans to construct an electromagnetic train line

## MAY 2007

Brought together by text messages, thousands in the southeastern coastal city of Xiamen march to halt the construction of a chemical plant



## Glow in the Dark

**3 | AFGHANISTAN** U.S. soldiers prepare to head out on patrol in Afghanistan's Paktika province, along the insurgency-riddled border with Pakistan. Farther to the west, in Helmand province, an Afghan man in a police uniform killed two British soldiers—the latest of the “green on blue” attacks that have been fraying relations between NATO troops and Afghan security forces.

ITALY

## ‘Ours is not a democracy but a dictatorship of judges.’

**SILVIO BERLUSCONI**, Italian media tycoon and former Prime Minister, upon receiving a four-year jail sentence on Oct. 26 on charges of tax fraud. The billionaire had previously been convicted three times; each time, the charges were dropped.



## Sandy's First Victims

**4 | HAITI** As Hurricane Sandy bore down on the U.S. on Oct. 29, the extent of the devastation it had wreaked in Haiti, the poorest nation in the western hemisphere, was just coming to light. Epic rains and flash floods ravaged the country's southern region, leading to at least 54 deaths, ruining crops and even sparking a new outbreak of cholera. Haiti is still recovering from the devastating 2010 earthquake.

## Election Exploitation

**5 | UKRAINE** “Democratic progress appears to have reversed.” That’s how a spokesperson for the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe described the most recent parliamentary elections in Ukraine, in which President Viktor Yanukovich’s ruling party won 36% of seats amid a sea of controversy. Here are three of the most scathing allegations.



1

### CENSORSHIP

Opposition leader and ex-Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, above right, was jailed during the election (she cast her ballot in jail), and minority parties were denied TV airtime

2

### LACK OF OVERSIGHT

The election votes were apparently tabulated privately, without impartial observers to monitor the process

3

### CORRUPTION

Yanukovich's Party of Regions illegally used state funds as well as electoral bribes to influence voting in its favor, adding to the charges of cronyism fostered under the leader's rule

# Nation

**Summit meetings**  
Johnson has climbed the highest mountains on four continents, including Mount Everest in 2003



## Who Is Gary Johnson? And why is the GOP so mad at him?

By Joel Stein

AS SOON AS LIBERTARIAN PRESIDENTIAL candidate Gary Johnson rolls up to the restaurant in Scottsdale, Ariz., his driver, Tom Mahon, jumps out of his seat and hands me a Sharpie. Mahon says that as a libertarian, he wants me to sign the campaign vehicle wherever I like and write whatever I like. So just below Johnson's head, I write, "I didn't do this," and draw an arrow toward the mustache, beard and marijuana cigarette already on Johnson's face. Being a true libertarian means driving around in a van with graffiti on your face.

Johnson isn't one of those incapable, extremist, wacky, millionaire third-party candidates. He is extremist: he wants to abolish the IRS, legalize marijuana and allow the private sector to create competing currencies. Sure, he's a little wacky: he's finished 75 triathlons, climbed Mount Everest eight weeks after breaking his leg in a skiing accident and crashed while paragliding. And yeah, he's a millionaire: in 1999 he got \$10 million for a handyman business he started his junior year of college and built into a 1,000-employee construction firm.

But he's capable. As a Republican, he won two terms as governor of New Mexico with no prior political experience, eliminating the deficit and creating a surplus before leaving office in 2003 with high approval ratings—which he recovered after dipping 30 points when he talked about drug legalization. "Ron Paul is a social conservative," he says. "I'm not. Ron Paul would talk about legalizing marijuana, but he's never smoked marijuana."

For months, as Johnson ran in the Republican presidential primary, the GOP ignored him as best it could, hoping he'd just go away. Then he did, leaving the Republicans to join the Libertarians. When I ran into him at the GOP convention in Tampa, Johnson looked like a man far removed from his former party, blocks from the convention center, standing on a street corner in front of a Hooters doing interviews.



The GOP isn't ignoring him anymore. Now that Johnson is threatening to siphon votes from Mitt Romney in close elections in Colorado and Nevada (he's also on the ballot in 46 other states and Washington, D.C.), Republicans are doing whatever they can to limit his appeal. Michigan party officials kept him off the ballot because he filed his paperwork three minutes late. In Pennsylvania, the GOP hired a private detective who went to canvassers' homes and flashed his old FBI badge before questioning the signatures they collected, a lawyer for Johnson's

campaign alleged. The state GOP and the investigator denied doing anything improper. (On Oct. 10 a judge decided that Johnson will be on the Pennsylvania ballot.) The experience has left Johnson, 59, alienated from some of his old comrades—which, it turns out, he doesn't mind at all. "Going to Republican events, as I did a zillion times, I listened to Republican candidates do their spiel. I cringed at a lot of what they said, whether it was abortion, the terrorist threat, the homophobia, the 'illegal immigrant is the source of all



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1. Source: Morningstar® 9/30/12. For each fund with at least a 3-year history, Morningstar® calculates a risk-adjusted return measure that accounts for variation in a fund's monthly performance (including the effects of all sales charges), placing more emphasis on downward variations and rewarding consistent performance. The top 10% of funds in each category receive a Morningstar Rating™ of 5 stars, the next 22.5% receive 4 stars, the next 35% receive 3 stars, the next 22.5% receive 2 stars and the bottom 10% receive 1 star. (Each share class is counted as a fraction of one fund and rated separately.) The Fund was rated against 740, 529, and 299 funds and received Morningstar Ratings of 3, 5, and 5 stars for the 3-, 5- and 10-year periods, respectively. Morningstar Rating™ is for Class A shares only; other share classes may have different performance characteristics. ©2012 Morningstar, Inc. All rights reserved. The information contained herein is proprietary to Morningstar and/or its content providers; may not be copied or distributed; and is not warranted to be accurate, complete or timely. Neither Morningstar nor its content providers are responsible for any damages or losses arising from any use of this information.

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**Free-fallin'** Johnson bodysurfs the crowd at a recent town-hall meeting in Salt Lake City

our problems'—man, that stuff made me crazy. The kook element of the Libertarians gets up, and I don't cringe."

Johnson lacks the passion of fellow Libertarian Ron Paul, but he projects far more humanity. Born in Minot, N.D., Johnson was a George McGovern–supporting anti-Vietnam War pot smoker who went to high school and college in New Mexico and started his empire as a door-to-door handyman. He still has a Midwesterner's accent and decency: he says things like "holy cow" and "Katie, bar the door." His running mate, Jim Gray, a former California Superior Court judge whom Johnson met at a drug-legalization conference, says Johnson often seems to lack ego. "He said to me, 'I, during the campaign, you have different ideas than I do, feel free to say that publicly.'"

Johnson is running a tiny operation, flying commercial and carrying his luggage to avoid bag-checking fees. He's spent a lot of his limited cash (he had \$29,173 left at

the end of September) suing to get on the ballot and doesn't have a lot left to run his campaign, much less buy TV ads. "Fifty people a day are calling our office, offering to do anything for free. And we don't have the resources to tap into them," he says.

Not that anyone could really organize Johnson's "coalition" anyway. After our dinner, a couple hundred people gather on a lawn at Arizona State University, which is pretty impressive, since it's 100°F. The crowd: tattooed students with marijuana-legalization shirts, young parents with little kids wearing Ron Paul shirts, crusty old men applauding wildly when warm-up speakers mention economist and austerity guru Friedrich Hayek, Constitution freaks with the Preamble on their shirts, guys selling cards with bits of silver who want to get us back to hard currency, a few Latinos who feel strongly about the Dream Act, antiwar activists in peace T-shirts. Libertarianism

is the smallest big tent in the world.

Johnson isn't the strongest speaker. After being introduced by Barry Goldwater Jr.—who recently endorsed Mitt Romney—Johnson opens with "So" and then talks about how even a homeless person could solve the country's problems, but, unlike a homeless person, he is qualified. He says many things that no winning presidential politician has ever said: "I didn't create one single new job in New Mexico. The private sector creates jobs!" followed shortly by a boast about how many liberty torches the ACLU has awarded him. It feels less like he's running for President than for student president of the University of Chicago.

As he leaves the stage and heads to the airport so he can fly to the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, he reflects on his chances. "I'm planning to exceed expectations," he says with a smile. "Which are zero."

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Since your last doctor's visit, have you... (check all that apply)

- ☐ had an increase in coughing?
- ☐ had an increase in mucus/phlegm or noticed a change in its color?
- ☐ had shortness of breath or difficulty breathing?
- ☐ had a flare-up or worsening of the COPD symptoms listed above, more than typical day-to-day variations?
- ☐ used an antibiotic or oral steroid (such as prednisone)? (# of times: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ had a severe cold or flu?
- ☐ visited an ER, hospital, or urgent care?  
(specify reason: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ discussed your breathing problems with another doctor?
- ☐ used a fast-acting/rescue inhaler more than usual?  
(# times/week: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ missed activities or limited them due to breathing difficulties?  
(specify activities: \_\_\_\_\_)

List all COPD medications you are taking:

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- ☐ I'm interested in finding out what more I can do for my COPD.



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# Health

## Playing for Keeps. Smart-phone games could make health care more fun—and effective

By Eliana Dockterman

MOST PEOPLE KNOW THEY SHOULDN'T EAT THAT DOUBLE cheeseburger. But Jack Lesko, 29, gets real-time reminders from virtual friends. "They're like, 'Hey, man, what's going on?'" he says of peers on the Eatery, a new photo-sharing smart-phone app that has users award one another points for eating healthy or withhold them if they're not. "It's fun," Lesko says, and also effective: that social accountability has helped him drop 60 lb. (27 kg)—and counting.

Games are the future of health care—or one version of it. At least 124 million people use smart phones to log exercises, track blood-glucose levels and even perform ultrasounds. A new crop of mobile entrepreneurs wants to leverage that momentum by making health care fun and social, like Farmville. "We can't change people to work like our health care system," says Aza Raskin, whose start-up, Massive Health, created the Eatery. "So let's make

our health care system work the way people do."

That's a daunting task. Although social games are great at getting people to obsess over, say, zapping virtual fruit (see Zynga's Bubble Safari, which touts 26 million monthly users on Facebook), stirring that level of enthusiasm for health care "is really, really hard," admits John Solomon, whose SuperBetter app gives users badges for completing so-called health quests. And many people can't change their behavior without help from traditional therapy or medication, says Dr. Benjamin Toll, a professor at Yale University.

But these games are gaining ground. The five-month-old SuperBetter, for example, just logged its 120,000th download, and the Eatery has amassed some 10 million ratings. "We have to improve design and product," says Raskin. "That's what will make these apps applicable."

### How health games help you...

#### PREVENT HIV

Adolescents who play Elm City Stories, which is being tested for the iPad, are faced with situations that increase their risk of HIV and shown different ways their choices can play out

#### LOSE WEIGHT

Users of Massive Health's the Eatery upload photos of their meals, which are then rated by other users for healthiness to create an aggregate "eating habits" score. To date, they have submitted roughly 10 million ratings

#### SLEEP BETTER

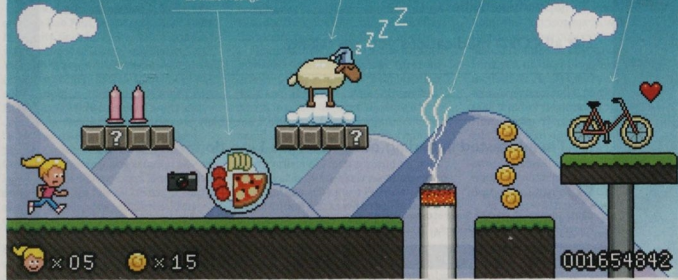
With help from their "allies"—other friends playing the game—users of SuperBetter earn health badges by completing small tasks like getting a full night's sleep to help fight depression and more

#### QUIT SMOKING

By tracking how long it's been since users gave up cigarettes, QuitNow! quantifies the perks they're getting—money saved, life-expectancy increase, decrease in cancer risk—and helps connect them with others for motivation via chat rooms

#### STAY ACTIVE

Users of EveryMove share their healthy activities (e.g., "I ran 5 miles") on a Facebook-like news feed and follow friends doing the same; for each activity, they earn points that can be converted into discounts at select retailers





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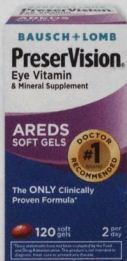
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FROM THE EYECARE EXPERTS AT  
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# Milestones



## DIED Jeff Blatnick. Unlikely wrestling champion

At the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, with less than a minute remaining in the super-heavyweight Greco-Roman wrestling finals, American Jeff Blatnick led Sweden's Tomas Johansson 1-0. Blatnick pummeled for inside control, and as the home crowd erupted, he drove Johansson to the mat, sealing the victory. In the postmatch interview, Blatnick, still out of breath, thanked fans in his hometown of Niskayuna, N.Y. When the reporter asked about all he had been through in the previous two years, Blatnick replied, "I'm a happy dude." Then he doubled over and wept.

For Blatnick, who died Oct. 24 at 55, the Olympic victory—one of the only two ever by Americans in Greco-Roman wrestling—was a personal redemption. A U.S. boycott had derailed his participation in the 1980 Moscow Olympics. Then, two years before the 1984 Games, Blatnick was diagnosed with Hodgkin's lymphoma. He underwent radiation treatment and surgery to remove his spleen, and with his cancer in remission, he won the gold medal. After retiring from the sport, Blatnick was a motivational speaker and TV analyst. A generation of wrestlers grew up hearing his dulcet but crisp voice explaining matches during Olympic broadcasts and every year at the NCAA championships. —NATE RAWLINGS

## DIED Jacques Barzun Cultural historian

Jacques Barzun "represents a growing host of men of ideas who not only have the respect of the nation, but who return the compliment," TIME wrote in a 1956 cover story on the pre-eminent U.S. cultural historian and public intellectual. Although the French-born Barzun, who died Oct. 25 at 104, wrote dozens of books on literature, philosophy, history and music, perhaps his most famous was *From Dawn to Decadence*, which arrived when he was 92 and covered five centuries of Western culture, warning of its decline. The glorification of rebellion and the postmodern assault on the idea of truth, he feared, could lead to "the liquidation of 500 years of civilization." —N.R.



## DIED Letitia Baldridge Manners maven

The ritual lighting of a woman's cigarette by a man was a practice Americans could do without. Women should carry their own lighters. So said Letitia Baldridge, authority on contemporary etiquette, who died Oct. 29 at 86. Once Jacqueline Kennedy's White House chief of staff, Baldridge, or Tish, as she was known, helped Americans transition from the white-glove world of Emily Post to an age of female executives, stepchildren and gay lovers. Women's independence, Baldridge thought, was the most important factor in changing mores; she once said, "Women have discovered that they can live alone without crumbling." And, she added, "make just as good drinks." —KAYLA WEBLEY



**DIED**  
Chester Hansen, 95, aide to U.S. General Omar Bradley during and after WW II; his multivolume war diaries have been a valuable resource for historians for decades.

**DIED**  
Margaret Osborne duPont, 94, who learned to play tennis on San Francisco public courts and won 37 Grand Slam singles and doubles titles from the '40s to the '60s.

**WON**  
The 2012 World Series, by the San Francisco Giants,



who defeated the Detroit Tigers in a four-game sweep. The games averaged just 12.7 million viewers on Fox, making this the lowest-rated World Series in history.

**PROMOTED**  
Jonathan Ive, Apple's design guru, who helped create the iPod, iPad and iPhone. In the wake of the company's Maps debacle, Apple ousted mobile-software

head Scott Forstall and tapped Ive to oversee the entire user experience, both hardware and software. Though CEO Tim Cook has the final say, Ive, in essence, is the new Steve Jobs.

**DIED**  
Hans Werner Henze, 86, German composer whose symphonies and operas, including *The Prince of Homburg*, gained renown in the postwar years.

# Fareed Zakaria



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## Breaking the Deadlock

Taming a dysfunctional political system will be the next President's first priority

**W**HETHER BARACK OBAMA OR Mitt Romney wins the election on Tuesday, on Wednesday he will face the same urgent challenge: how to stop the U.S. from falling off the fiscal cliff. But let's hope he also takes on the larger challenge of fixing a political system that has brought us close to disaster twice in two years.

Unless Congress acts, the spending cuts and tax increases that would be triggered automatically next January would take 5.1% out of the country's GDP in one year, according to the Congressional Budget Office. That would be one of the most severe experiments with austerity in history—larger than anything Greece, Spain, Italy or the U.K. has tried. In fact, it is almost three times the size of Britain's program. And the results of those European austerity policies have thus far been a dramatic slowdown in economic growth and a sharp spike in unemployment. Virtually every economist who has studied this believes that similar measures, even if enacted for a few months, could push the U.S. into a double-dip recession.

Even a prominent CEO-sponsored public campaign geared explicitly toward deficit reduction has warned that this much reduction this fast would be catastrophic for the country. In fact, just the fear that it might happen has already stopped companies from expanding. And once again, the rest of the world watches to see if the U.S.—the center of the global economy—will actually commit economic hara-kiri.

The most puzzling aspect of our dilemmas is how manageable they are. Unlike Greece and Spain, the U.S. has a fundamentally healthy economy. We have problems, but we have solutions to them. The true virtue of the Simpson-Bowles deficit-reduction plan is that it

illustrates that the U.S.'s debt issues could be readily resolved as long as both parties compromise. Paul Ryan and Paul Krugman criticize the specifics of the plan, but that proves the point: neither side would get what it wants but the budget would be placed on a much more stable footing.

The truth is, most of the U.S.'s problems could be solved using some version of the Simpson-Bowles approach. Imagine a bipartisan and independent panel that



proposed comprehensive immigration reform. Or one that tackled Social Security. Or tax reform. Perhaps we need an independent agency chartered by Congress to generate such plans when asked.

Whatever the mechanism, the U.S. needs some kind of process to produce compromise proposals that Congress would have to take seriously. Ideally, lawmakers would be forced to vote up or down on them. This is not an abstract theory. When used before—for example, for base closings after the Cold War and for trade legislation—the process has been very successful. In fact, a required vote was part of the original design of the

Republican proposal for what became Simpson-Bowles. But once Obama agreed to it, seven Republican co-sponsors of the resolution reversed course and denounced the idea. And congressional Democrats weren't all that unhappy with the outcome.

### That's just another reminder that

the U.S. political system is simply not working. The parties have become too polarized; institutions and traditions of governance, like the filibuster, have been abused to create permanent gridlock. It's tempting to pretend that this has always been a part of the country's raucous democracy and that both parties are to blame. But that's just not true. Consider

these facts. Over the past five years, Republicans have threatened a filibuster 38 times. That's almost double the rate of the preceding five years. "This level of obstruction is extremely unusual," Norman Ornstein, a scholar at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, told *Newsweek*. "And the core of the problem is the GOP." The Republican Party has chosen to become the party of no in a political system that can work only if there is some cross-party cooperation.

Would Obama or Romney be better at breaking this deadlock? Each side makes its arguments. Obama has said, as recently as late August, that his re-election would "break the fever" and force Republicans to the table. Romney partisans quietly admit that the Republican Party will have to accept higher taxes but claim that only one of its own can take them there.

Is either of these scenarios credible? I'm not sure. So far, Obama has clearly been more willing to compromise, though he is not blameless. The Republican Party could accept reality—and math—and accept that tax revenue will have to go up to get a budget deal. But I do know that unless we fix our utterly dysfunctional political system, it is only a matter of time before we face the next cliff—and that next time, we will fall off and crash.



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# Rob Long



## Oh, No! We're Gonna Win!

Republicans expect things to get worse.  
Which is why Romney will lose, right?

**S**EVENTY-TWO HOURS AFTER THE first presidential debate, in which it's universally recognized that Mitt Romney cleaned Barack Obama's clock, I started to panic. The polls began to tighten, battleground states started to seem a lot less battlegroundish, and Republicans allowed themselves to think the unthinkable: We may actually win this thing.

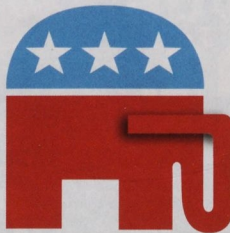
This, of course, isn't supposed to happen. In debates, Republicans are supposed to fumble around looking uncomfortable and out of touch. We're supposed to smile awkwardly and get tangled in the rich man's lingo: capital-gains-tax reductions, carried interest, the problems with the minimum wage, that sort of stuff. For 30 years, Republicans have watched every debate with our hearts in our throats; we're behind our man all the way, but we always know he's going to say something weird and off-putting, and we're going to have to do a lot of damage control afterward.

**It's a new feeling, then, for Republicans** to watch a presidential campaign come to a close without that nauseating pool of dread in our stomachs. And it's a new feeling, at least for some of us, to watch a race that seemed doomed a few months ago—a race, let's be honest, in which our party nominated a smart and good man but one who is also a zillionaire Mormon former governor of Massachusetts who says things like “Good gracious” when he's peeved—tighten until it's not unthinkable that we could, you know, actually win this thing.

These are all new feelings, and Republicans hate new feelings. Giddy optimism, to us, is just a Jedi mind trick. Surging polls? The banana peels we'll all slip on when Obama ekes out slim but decisive victories in seven states. Obama's buying ads in Michigan? Another head fake to

keep Romneyland off balance. We can't help but feel energized and excited by Romney's momentum, but we wouldn't be Republicans if we didn't worry, deep down, that we're being punked.

It's the chief irony of the GOP that its greatest hero, Ronald Reagan, always looked at the glass as half full, while the keystone principle of conservatives is that things are inexorably getting worse. Reagan managed to thread that



particular needle, but for the rest of us, optimism is a lost cause. “Things go bad” is our motto, and the best we can do is to try to beat back the tide. Our leaders will be stilted and clumsy and barely able to slow the drift toward full-on European-style socialism—and that's the good news. That's if they actually win an election. What we expect them to do is lose.

That's certainly where most of us were throughout September, when the Romney operation improvised its way through a series of lackluster weeks—explaining away the famous “47%” video, dispatching the income-tax return business—and frittered away any possible postconvention

momentum. And then suddenly Romney delivered the single best performance by a presidential candidate in a debate in 40 years at the moment his opponent delivered the single *worst* performance in 40 years. It's precisely the kind of unexpected high-wire act that drives conservatives batty. We don't like surprises like that. That sort of thing just inspires hope—and hope, well, that just leads to unrealistic expectations and crushing disappointment. We're looking at national polls the way Wile E. Coyote looks at an unopened package from the Acme Corp.: This is going to be great!

**So why not nip all this “Romney might actually win” stuff in the bud?** Which is why, for the past week, most of my Republican friends have been reminding one another that doom really is just around the corner, that the polls are misleading, that Obama's get-out-the-vote machine is impossible to beat, that the left-wing media will protect their candidate, that the current voter demographics favor the opposition—and no matter what, Do not get optimistic. Do not allow yourself to hope.

“Ohio is neck and neck,” a Republican friend texted me the other day, “and O pulling out of North Carolina.”

It was true, but he nevertheless felt compelled to follow up with this deflationary text: “We're still prob- gonna lose.”

But what if we don't? “What happens then?” I texted my friend. The iPhone went silent for a moment. Then it chirped a reply: “That wd be awful! Romney as prez will raise taxes 4 sure. O vs. Rep. Congress won't b able 2.”

This was a good good—and characteristically Republican—point: things have a way of getting worse, even when they seem like they're about to get better. Here's hoping we can cope with our disillusionment when we win.

*Long is a contributing editor at National Review and the editor of Ricochet.com*



# MEN DON'T LOOK FOR EXCUSES. THEY GET THINGS DONE.

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We know that no medicine is for everyone. Don't take VIAGRA if you take nitrates, often prescribed for chest pain, as this may cause a sudden unsafe drop in blood pressure.

Talk with your doctor first. Make sure your heart is healthy enough to have sex. If you have chest pain, nausea, or other discomforts during sex, seek medical help right away.

In the rare event of an erection lasting more than four hours, seek immediate medical help to avoid long-term injury.

In rare instances, men who take PDE5 inhibitors (oral erectile dysfunction medicines, including VIAGRA) reported a sudden decrease or loss of vision, or sudden decrease or loss of hearing. It is not possible to determine whether these events are related directly to these medicines or to other factors. If you experience any of these symptoms, stop taking PDE5 inhibitors, including VIAGRA, and call a doctor right away.

The most common side effects of VIAGRA are headache, facial flushing, and upset stomach. Less common are bluish or blurred vision, or being sensitive to light. These may occur for a brief time.

VIAGRA does not protect against sexually transmitted diseases including HIV.

Take VIAGRA about one hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA works for 4 hours. VIAGRA only works with stimulation.

Please see Important Facts for VIAGRA on the following page or visit [viagra.com](http://viagra.com) for full prescribing information.

\*Data taken from a study of 228 men with ED who previously had success with VIAGRA. Of the 115 men who took VIAGRA 100mg, 35% had erections hard enough for successful intercourse at 14 minutes, and 51% of men at 20 minutes.

Individual results may vary.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.FDA.gov/medwatch](http://www.FDA.gov/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

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## IMPORTANT FACTS

**VIAGRA**  
(sildenafil citrate) tablets

(vi-AG-rah)

### IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION ABOUT VIAGRA

Never take VIAGRA if you take any medicines with nitrates. This includes nitroglycerin. Your blood pressure could drop quickly. It could fall to an unsafe or life-threatening level.

### ABOUT ERECTILE DYSFUNCTION (ED)

Erectile dysfunction means a man cannot get or keep an erection. Health problems, injury, or side effects of drugs may cause ED. The cause may not be known.

### ABOUT VIAGRA

VIAGRA is used to treat ED in men. When you want to have sex, VIAGRA can help you get and keep an erection when you are sexually excited. You cannot get an erection just by taking the pill. Only your doctor can prescribe VIAGRA.

VIAGRA does not cure ED.

VIAGRA does not protect you or your partner from STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) or HIV. You will need to use a condom.

VIAGRA is not a hormone or an aphrodisiac.

### WHO IS VIAGRA FOR?

Who should take VIAGRA?

Men who have ED and whose heart is healthy enough for sex.

Who should NOT take VIAGRA?

- If you ever take medicines with nitrates:
  - Medicines that treat chest pain (angina), such as nitroglycerin or isosorbide mononitrate or dinitrate
- If you use some street drugs, such as "poppers" (amyl nitrate or nitrite)
- If you are allergic to anything in the VIAGRA tablet

### BEFORE YOU START VIAGRA

Tell your doctor if you have or ever had:

- Heart attack, abnormal heartbeats, or stroke
- Heart problems, such as heart failure, chest pain, or aortic valve narrowing
- Low or high blood pressure
- Severe vision loss
- An eye condition called retinitis pigmentosa
- Kidney or liver problems
- Blood problems, such as sickle cell anemia or leukemia
- A deformed penis, Peyronie's disease, or an erection that lasted more than 4 hours
- Stomach ulcers or any kind of bleeding problems

Tell your doctor about all your medicines. Include over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal products. Tell your doctor if you take or use:

- Medicines called alpha-blockers to treat high blood pressure or prostate problems. Your blood pressure could suddenly get too low. You could get dizzy or faint. Your doctor may start you on a lower dose of VIAGRA.
- Medicines called protease inhibitors for HIV. Your doctor may prescribe a 25 mg dose. Your doctor may limit VIAGRA to 25 mg in a 48-hour period.
- Other methods to cause erections. These include pills, injections, implants, or pumps.
- A medicine called REVATIO. VIAGRA should not be used with REVATIO as REVATIO contains sildenafil, the same medicine found in VIAGRA.

### POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF VIAGRA

Side effects are mostly mild to moderate. They usually go away after a few hours. Some of these are more likely to happen with higher doses.

The most common side effects are:

- Headache
- Feeling flushed
- Upset stomach

Less common side effects are:

- Trouble telling blue and green apart or seeing a blue tinge on things
- Eyes being more sensitive to light
- Blurred vision

Rarely, a small number of men taking VIAGRA have reported these serious events:

- Having an erection that lasts more than 4 hours. If the erection is not treated right away, long-term loss of potency could occur.
- Sudden decrease or loss of sight in one or both eyes. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. They may be caused by conditions like high blood pressure or diabetes. If you have sudden vision changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Sudden decrease or loss of hearing. We do not know if these events are caused by VIAGRA and medicines like it or caused by other factors. If you have sudden hearing changes, stop using VIAGRA and all medicines like it. Call your doctor right away.
- Heart attack, stroke, irregular heartbeats, and death. We do not know whether these events are caused by VIAGRA or caused by other factors. Most of these happened in men who already had heart problems.

If you have any of these problems, stop VIAGRA. Call your doctor right away.

### HOW TO TAKE VIAGRA

Do:

- Take VIAGRA only the way your doctor tells you. VIAGRA comes in 25 mg, 50 mg, and 100 mg tablets. Your doctor will tell you how much to take.
- If you are over 65 or have serious liver or kidney problems, your doctor may start you at the lowest dose (25 mg).
- Take VIAGRA about 1 hour before you want to have sex. VIAGRA starts to work in about 30 minutes when you are sexually excited. VIAGRA lasts up to 4 hours.

Don't:

- Do not take VIAGRA more than once a day.
- Do not take more VIAGRA than your doctor tells you.
- If you think you need more VIAGRA, talk with your doctor.
- Do not start or stop any other medicines before checking with your doctor.

### NEED MORE INFORMATION?

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- Go to [www.viagra.com](http://www.viagra.com) or call (888) 4-VIAGRA (484-2472).

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# Joe Klein



TO READ JOE'S  
BLOG POSTS, GO TO  
[time.com/swampland](http://time.com/swampland)

## Closing Arguments

We will not jump off the fiscal cliff. We'll be fine despite an unsatisfying campaign

BARACK OBAMA'S INSPIRATIONAL WHOOSH to the presidency in 2008 was unusual. Most campaigns are less exhilarating; indeed, they are downright disappointing—until someone wins. Then, suddenly, it becomes “clear” that one candidate magically understood and responded to the needs of the electorate and that his team of strategists were, ahem, geniuses. But in the days just before a closely contested election like this one, the missed opportunities and tactical blunders seem painfully obvious on both sides. The pettiness and lack of substance are suffocating. Has this year been particularly awful? It certainly seems so now, especially as the devastating truth of Hurricane Sandy beggars a campaign in which major issues like climate change were either ignored or denied by both sides.

It does seem hard to imagine a national celebration of either a Romney or an Obama victory. The President has run a tactical, largely negative campaign, more concerned with Romney's weaknesses than with the strength of his own record. It is almost as if his victories—with the exception of Osama bin Laden's death and the auto bailout—were too technical or abstract to explain. His various economic moves in early 2009 prevented another Great Depression, but on the advice of his consultants, Obama isn't even using the word *stimulus* anymore because it's too controversial. His health care plan represented not just a moral step forward but also a path to lower prices—especially for small businesses—and a reform of a wasteful medical system, but it hasn't been implemented yet, and it has been demagogued to near death by the Republicans.

In fact, the President has bought the basic Republican assumption: that the public loathes government action. This has severely limited his ability to talk about his

plans for the next four years, even though the libertarian trope is a delusion easily refuted. The federal response to the hurricane is Exhibit A; just ask New Jersey Governor Chris Christie. And Obama's failure, or unwillingness, to make the case for his essentially moderate vision of governance has raised major questions about his continuing ability to lead the nation.

Mitt Romney hasn't made much of a case for himself either, and his quick-



change policy reversals, false claims and false advertising raise serious questions about whether he has the character and constancy to be President. In the week before the election, he put up an insultingly false ad about the President's record on the auto bailout. He claimed that Obama had “sold Chrysler to Italians” who were sending Jeep jobs to China. Chrysler immediately repudiated this. The truth is, Chrysler is adding Jeep jobs in the U.S. and, given its resurgence here, may boost Jeep production in China for Chinese consumption. This sort of ad seems particularly galling given the fact that Romney opposed the auto bailout and has spent his whole business career

embedded in the global economy, selling companies to the “Italians,” or whomever, so that they could send jobs to “China,” or wherever. It is rare to find a candidate so willing to repudiate his life's work.

I suspect that Ohioans, who are legitimately grateful to the President for saving the auto industry, will see past the arrogant cynicism of Romney's ad. But perhaps they won't. The Romney campaign's assumption from the start—from its very first television ad, a sleazy attempt to pin John McCain's 2008 reluctance to “talk about the economic crisis” as something Obama said more recently—was that it could get away with practically anything, including the full-body transformation of its candidate in the debates from severe conservative to warmhearted moderate. Given the closeness of the election, who can say Romney's gamble hasn't paid off?

Republicans will say Obama has been every bit as cynical as Romney, and there have been moments when the Obama campaign has been less than heroic. But we need to be clear about this: there is nothing close to moral equivalence here. The Romney campaign has indulged in many of the worst fantasies promulgated by the GOP's wingnuts, from the Obama “apology tour,” which never happened, to blatant misrepresentations of Obamacare and the President's Middle East policy, to the constant undertow of implication that the President is not quite American enough.

**There are some things I can just about guarantee, no matter who wins this election. The fiscal cliff will prove a mirage. There will be a budget deal. Taxes won't be lowered on individuals, but revenues will be raised as deductions and entitlements are severely curtailed for the wealthy. There will be a deal on immigration reform, as the Republican Party will have to embrace our glorious demographics sooner rather than later. We will not become Greece, as Romney suggests. We will struggle along, secure in our freedom, and eventually prosper. That is the American way: we make fools of pessimists.**



# OUTSMARTING THE SURGE

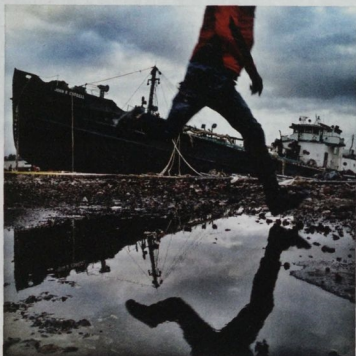
The devastating superstorm was a sign of things to come. How we can better prepare for a catastrophe-prone future **BY BRYAN WALSH**



**Sandblasted** Hurricane Sandy pulverized New Jersey shore towns like Mantoloking, where wind and storm surges destroyed houses and the boardwalk

Photograph by Andrew Quilty for TIME





**A**FTER HURRICANE SANDY HURLED the Atlantic at the Northeast coast on Oct. 29 and 30, New York Governor Andrew Cuomo returned from touring a shell-shocked New York City to face reporters. The storm surge had inundated lower Manhattan, Staten Island and parts of Brooklyn and Queens. It had obliterated the New Jersey shore. Across more than a dozen states, from North Carolina to Maine and as far west as Michigan, it left more than 50 people dead and more than 8 million without power, and it likely caused more than \$20 billion in damage. Sandy, a seemingly minor Category 1 hurricane, was a major catastrophe.

But for Cuomo, Sandy was the harbinger of something even worse. "We have a 100-year flood every two years now," he said. "We need to make sure that if there is weather like this, we are more prepared and protected than we have been before."

We'll need to be. Thanks to a combination of factors—more people and property in vulnerable coastal areas as well as climate change—we're likely to experience disasters on the scale of Sandy more often in the future. That's a future we're not ready to handle, and judging from the near total absence of debate about global warming on the presidential campaign trail, it's a future we're not even thinking about. The good news is that there's still time to prepare—if we heed the lessons of the storm.

► **Make sure you can see ahead.** When the infamous Long Island Express hurricane hit the Northeast in 1938, there was little warning and less preparation. As many as 800 people died, making it one of the deadliest storms in U.S. history. We'd never be so unprepared today, thanks to the more than two dozen U.S. weather and environmental satellites that peer down on the planet and help predict its weather.

But in September, NASA's GOES-East satellite—one of a pair of orbiting spacecraft that provide the backbone for advanced weather forecasting—suddenly winked out. Fortunately NASA had a backup GOES satellite already parked in orbit, and forecasting capabilities were unaffected in the month leading up to Sandy's formation. But that near miss was a scary reminder that the U.S. satellite fleet is in peril, threatened by budget cuts and government short-

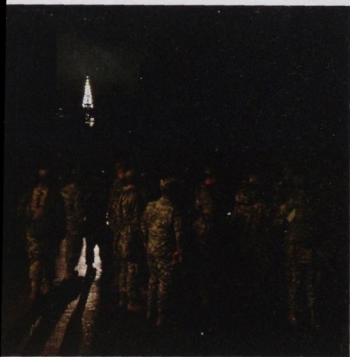
sightedness. "Gaps are opening in both our operational and research satellites," says J. Marshall Shepherd, director of the atmospheric sciences program at the University of Georgia and president-elect of the American Meteorological Society. For every \$1 spent on space infrastructure, about \$5 in disaster-damage costs are saved—proof that it makes economic sense to keep our eyes in the skies operating.

► **Build a better grid.** It was the signature digital moment of Hurricane Sandy: people tweeting that they had lost power. Some of that loss was unavoidable. A storm the size of Sandy would stress even the most resilient electrical grid. But that's not the grid we have in the U.S. We still depend on rickety 20th century technology to power a 21st century economy. Prolonged power outages are common even after storms far less powerful than Sandy; 3.2 million homes and businesses in the Northeast lost power, some for more than a week, after last Halloween's freak snowstorm. Many homeowners in rural New Jersey and Connecticut—like those in developing nations like India—have installed backup generators for when, not if, the grid goes down. That's smart, but weather-caused blackouts are more than an inconvenience. The Department of Energy estimates that sustained power interruptions (those lasting more than five minutes) cost the U.S. \$26 billion annually.

**'We need to make sure that if there is weather like this, we are more prepared and protected than we have been before.'**

—ANDREW CUOMO,  
NEW YORK GOVERNOR





Even budget-strapped utilities can prepare the grid for a major storm. Downed trees take out power lines, triggering cascading blackouts, so before Sandy, utility companies sensibly marshaled crews to trim wayward branches. That helped limit damage but could in no way contain it. Burying power lines makes even more sense, but it isn't cheap, especially outside dense urban areas—one reason just 18% of U.S. distribution lines are underground. Better to integrate emerging smart-grid technology that would enable utilities to rapidly identify outages, isolate them before they spread and repair them. Modern life depends on the electrical grid. It should be more resilient than Twitter.

► **We're all in this together.** What really set Sandy apart was its immense size. It has been labeled a superstorm, with destructive winds and flooding extending more than 450 miles (725 km) from its center as it made landfall in Atlantic City, N.J. That meant the storm hit multiple states and tens of millions of people more or less simultaneously. Normally in a disaster, the hardest-hit states can borrow emergency personnel or utility crews from unscathed neighbors under mutual-aid agreements. Sandy's size made that virtually impossible.

The widespread destruction underscores just how important a strong federal response is to a natural disaster. The

Federal Emergency Management Administration (FEMA)—which didn't exactly distinguish itself in the response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005—declared a disaster in eight states and the District of Columbia before Sandy made landfall, allowing them to request assistance before the worst of the storm hit. FEMA isn't perfect: a government audit released this year found problems in how the agency trains workers. But we need it. That's why the prospect of FEMA's losing nearly \$900 million of its \$14.3 billion budget if Congress fails to avert the looming fiscal cliff is worrisome.

► **Stop ignoring the climate connection.** Climate scientists are divided on exactly what role global warming plays in making hurricanes like Sandy bigger and stronger. Researchers know that tropical storms derive their energy from warm waters. That's one reason hurricanes are much more common in the hot tropics. The Atlantic Ocean is about 2°F (1°C) warmer on average than it was a century ago, in part because of man-made climate change. Warmer waters generally mean stronger storms, and indeed, scientists have agreed that climate change seems likely to lead to stronger and wetter storms, though possibly fewer of them.

Then again, Sandy was more than a hurricane. It was a hybrid storm, a tropical cyclone that, as it moved north, drew energy from the sharp differences

**Storm shots** From left, a tanker aground on New York's Staten Island; Atlantic City's boardwalk is washed away; the National Guard in blacked-out lower Manhattan; a truck submerged at the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel entrance

FOR MORE IMAGES OF SANDY FROM TIME PHOTOGRAPHERS, GO TO [time.com/lightbox](http://time.com/lightbox)

in temperature and air pressure coming from an atmospheric blocking pattern in the North Atlantic. A tropical cyclone like Sandy usually veers off harmlessly into the Atlantic at this time of year, but that Arctic air pattern forced the storm to take a hard left directly into the heavily populated Northeast.

That, say most climate scientists, was largely bad luck, though the record Arctic sea-ice melt this summer may have contributed to that northern blocking pattern. But the truth is, there's no way of knowing for sure how much responsibility climate change bears for Sandy, at least not until researchers have had more time to study the storm.

Here's one thing scientists do know, however: climate change has caused sea levels to rise, which made the storm surges and coastal flooding caused by Sandy all the more devastating. Overall sea



**Overflow** A storm surge strikes a house in Milford, Conn., on Long Island Sound. Flooding caused the most damage





levels have risen by 8 in. (20 cm), and the rate has been accelerating recently. That puts coastal cities like Washington and Miami at growing risk for major floods every time a storm strikes. New York City, which saw its subway system flooded and parts of its electricity grid submerged, has more than 580 miles (930 km) of coastline—all of it increasingly encroached by a rising sea. A 2012 paper in *Nature* projected that climate change could lead to floods that should occur only once a century happening every three to 20 years. It's a visceral reminder that climate change is real and that it generally raises the risks of a range of natural disasters, from heat waves to droughts to storms. The science is clear: cutting carbon emissions over the long term is key to reducing the risk from extreme weather.

► **Prepare for the worst.** At the same time, climate change is being compounded by the human factor. As of 2003, 153 million Americans lived in coastal counties—an increase of 33 million since 1980—and 3.7 million lived within a few feet of high tide. So when a storm like Sandy strikes—in this case during a full moon, with astronomical high tides—more people and property are in harm's way. Besides cutting carbon emissions, we'll need to adapt to the effects of climate change by building infrastructure that can withstand the devastating coastal storm surges that will become only more common as sea levels rise because of warming. Protection won't be cheap. A 2004 study projected that installing sea barriers to block storm surges in New York City would cost nearly \$70 billion. But that may be the price of admission to live in a hot and crowded world.

Hurricanes have always been a part of life on this planet, and they will continue to be. But we can control our preparation for and response to events like Sandy—for better or for worse. We can make sure that natural disasters don't morph into man-made catastrophes like Katrina, but it requires farsighted leadership and investments made before the storm clouds roll in. "What is clear is that the storms that we've experienced in the last year or so, around this country and around the world, are much more severe than before," New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg said the day after Sandy pulverized his city. "We'll have to address those issues." And that's Sandy's final lesson: if we don't pay now, we'll certainly pay later. ■

REPORTAGE BY GETTY IMAGES



Photograph by Benjamin Lowy for TIME



**Bayside disaster** *The Breezy Point section of Queens, New York, was leveled by winds, water and flood-related fires*





[R]  
Mitt Romney

MITT ROMNEY DOES NOT NATURALLY inspire adulation. In school, he should have been voted least likely to engender a cult of personality. It is almost surprising to hear crowds at his rallies chant his name.

A President Romney would be utterly unburdened by messianic expectations. If he's elected, the American public will have hired him to do a job, not to save the planet or redeem our politics. Thankfully. We've had enough self-styled heroic government to last us a good long time.

President Romney's task would be simple, if not easy: to reform government for the 21st century and put it on a basis more conducive to private-sector growth and long-term national solvency.

He and running mate Paul Ryan are the candidates of change at a time when our future depends on it. The welfare state is in crisis around the Western world, especially in Europe but also here at home—acutely in such states as California and Illinois. It is creaking under dated assumptions, aging populations and the unavoidable truth of the age-old axiom that you can't spend money that you don't have.

What have been drags on Romney's appeal as a candidate might suit him in doing this job. He really does care about the data. He is bloodlessly efficient and highly rational. An important player in the transformation of the private sector at Bain Capital, he now might get a leading role in the modernization of American government.

For all his invocations of hope and change, President Obama has governed as the last President of the 20th century. He hasn't reformed government, he has merely made it larger. His re-election campaign reeks of intellectual and policy exhaustion. It released a purported

*continued on page 44*

After 500 days, an endless pro  
four debates, bewildering pol  
of negative ads, you still don  
Two writers make th

THE CASE  
BY RICH LOWRY

THE CASE FOR  
BY E.J. DIONNE JR.

primary season, two conventions,  
and a gazillion dollars' worth  
to know which man to back?  
their case for the Choice

FOR MITT ROMNEY

BARACK OBAMA



[D]  
Barack Obama

WAITING IN LINE FOR TWO-AND-A-HALF hours is rarely an exciting experience. But when my son and I voted early—he for the first time—at a community center in Rockville, Md., both of us were inspired by the hundreds of other people intent on exercising democracy's most basic right.

In our deep blue county, this was largely an Obama crowd, crossing the boundaries of race, class and age. It was white, African American and Latino, young, middle-aged and old. These citizens eager to lift their voices reminded us that in this campaign, one coalition includes almost every kind of American. If Obama wins, he will owe his re-election to a little bit of all of us: blue-collar white voters in the Midwest, upscale voters in the Northeast and on the West Coast, an overwhelming percentage of Latino voters turned off by a new nativism on the right, and near unanimous solidarity on his behalf among African Americans. Obama is not the sort to think about dismissing 47% of us.

The sweep of the Obama coalition represented in that snaking line led my son and me to conclude something else: The President Obama of 2012 may no longer stir the jubilation called forth by the Barack Obama of 2008. But the hope and resolve he spoke of then have not vanished.

Yes, those feelings have been tempered by hard times and four years of bitter political struggle. Obama appears now less as a savior than as a human being with flaws and virtues, failures and successes. The hope of four years ago has transformed itself into something more mature and durable: a confidence in what an increasingly diverse, tolerant and open America can achieve. It is a view that flatly rejects the fears of those who see our country in

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second-term agenda with more glossy pictures of him than text, just 14 days before the election. His campaign continually resorts to the small-minded and demagogic in defense of a manifestly inadequate status quo.

Any proposed restraint on the unprecedented peacetime levels of spending and debt is portrayed as unhinged radicalism and the end of the social safety net. Yet under the much maligned Ryan budget—broadly endorsed by Romney—taxes as a percentage of GDP would be slightly higher than their average over the past several decades. Ten years hence, federal spending would still be at a higher level of GDP than in the Clinton years, when tumbleweed didn't roll in the streets.

The achievement of the Ryan budget is to point a way toward long-term balance without tax increases. The dirty secret is that Obama's central fiscal initiative, a tax increase on the rich, would raise only \$80 billion annually at a time of yearly \$1 trillion deficits. Eventually, funding current levels of government will mean broad-based tax increases on the middle class. The President offers no other way out. His \$4 trillion "balanced" plan to cut the deficit is little more than a dressed-up talking point. Half the savings were already achieved in the debt-limit talks or come via the inevitable drawdowns

of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The President's budgets have failed to get any votes in the Senate for two years running.

The health care entitlements, Medicare and Medicaid, are the biggest drivers of the debt. Even Obama says Medicare is unsustainable on its current trajectory. Romney wants to block-grant Medicaid to the states so they can experiment to improve it. And at considerable political risk, he endorsed a far-reaching reform of Medicare (although it wouldn't kick in for 10 years). This is the "premium support" proposal that Democrats routinely say, falsely, would cost seniors \$6,400 more a year.

The proposal would guarantee existing Medicare benefits, then invite insurance companies (and a version of the current Medicare program) to bid on providing those benefits. The government would set its level of payment at the second lowest bid, and seniors would choose their preferred option. There is no reason for seniors to pay more than they do now. The popular Medicare drug benefit is a similar premium-support plan and—shockingly for a government health program—has been coming in under cost projections.

Of course, Romney also famously wants to repeal Obamacare. The President's signature health care program is a sprawling \$2 trillion mess sold under false pretenses. The government's own scorekeepers say it won't control costs. Medicare's actuary says its cuts to the program—crucial to paying for the reform law—are so draconian that they are unlikely to happen. The Lewin Group, a respected health care consultancy, says employers could dump millions of people out of their health plans. Much

of the expansion in insurance coverage comes through Medicaid, which traps its recipients in a second-class health care system.

Romney has talked (if vaguely) about a free-market alternative that would make it easier for people to own their own insurance. A tax credit for individuals to buy their own insurance could cover tens of millions more people. Properly designed high-risk pools could limit the problem of sick people unable to get coverage. Such a plan could achieve the same goals as Obamacare at a fraction of the expense while encouraging more innovation and cost control in the health care system.

Romney's tax plan, similarly, aims for greater efficiency. All things being equal, most economists prefer a tax system with lower rates and fewer loopholes and deductions. This is what Romney proposes, in broad strokes, for both income and corporate taxes. The President makes it sound like an impossible dream, but this is the same construct—lower rates, fewer loopholes—behind his own proposal for corporate taxes.

Romney promises a regime of regulatory restraint. His Environmental Protection Agency, in particular, can be trusted not to interfere with the revolutionary oil and gas boom driven by fracking or to impose a cap-and-trade system by administrative fiat. The same cannot be said of the President's EPA, filled with people who share the goal he used to talk about (though no longer) of making electricity more expensive in order to combat climate change.

Not all of Romney's program will be achievable, obviously. The tax reform won't have a smooth trip through the congressional sausage factory. And some of Romney's promises are unwise. One hopes that if he really labels China a currency manipulator on "Day One," he spends Day Two figuring out how to avoid a trade war. But the thrust of Romney's agenda would be good for our finances and our economy. It would begin to reverse the tide of federal spending in the short term and improve the fiscal outlook in the long run. Businesses could look forward to lower tax rates, modest regulation and cheap energy. (The last is especially important to manufacturers.)

The President's case for re-election has been weak, in keeping with the weakness of his record. Let's stipulate that he inherited a punishing recession. But the argument that Bush's policies "got us into this

**Romney's agenda  
will begin to reverse  
the tide of federal  
spending and  
improve our long-  
term fiscal outlook**

*continued on page 46*



# THE CASE FOR BARACK OBAMA

the counsel of Obama's foes. They would have allowed the auto industry to collapse. They would have ignored history's lesson that government must step in to stimulate economic activity when private demand plummets. We know from the experience of Europe that austerity leads to stagnation. Obama made the better choice.

Romney has at times condemned Obama's stimulus plan while standing in front of enterprises returned to prosperity by the stimulus. Paul Ryan denounced the stimulus and then sought its succor for companies in his district. Watch what they do, not what they say.

Obama has revived a practical, sober and realistic foreign policy in the tradition of George H.W. Bush. Democrats crow about the killing of Osama bin Laden and thrill to Vice President Joe Biden's handy bumper-sticker line "Osama bin Laden is dead, and GM is alive." But behind the quip is a reality: Obama has transformed the war on terrorism from an all-purpose slogan designed to rationalize all manner of foreign policy adventures to a focused effort to keep the country safe. By ending the war in Iraq, winding down our commitment in Afghanistan and abandoning grandiose adventurism, he has redirected U.S. foreign policy toward the classic and sensible goals of preserving our power and influence and shaping an international environment congenial to our prosperity and our values.

Republicans bridle at the idea that Obama has restored respect for our country around the world. But it's true. An Obama defeat would threaten many of his diplomatic achievements, including building what one pro-Western ambassador called "a successful coalition of the unlike-

minded and unwilling" to confront Iran.

The strongest endorsement of Obama's choices came from his opponent. In the third debate, Romney abandoned months of bellicose rhetoric and lined up behind one Obama decision after another. In this polarized political era, poll-tested imitation is about the only form of flattery we can expect. When Romney declared that "we don't want another Iraq," he was blessing the transition from George W. Bush's era to Obama's.

Obama's decision to ignore cautious political advisers and see through the health care reform fight came at great political cost. Even some of his allies think the electoral price was too high. But this is a measure of Obama's fortitude. By bringing the promise of health insurance to tens of millions of our citizens, Obama ended a national scandal. No other wealthy nation allows so many to live without basic coverage for illness or to rely on emergency rooms as a last resort. They either arrive there long after the opportunity to get well has passed, or they survive only to face years, sometimes a lifetime, of debt. The Affordable Care Act is an achievement worthy of our great reforming Presidents.

Once again Romney's behavior proves the point. He speaks of repealing Obama-care only in general terms. When it comes to so many of the specifics—on prohibiting insurance discrimination against those with pre-existing conditions, for example, or on making it easier for parents to cover their adult children—Romney winds up backing what Obama did.

Beyond these large questions are concrete Obama achievements: his support for women's rights, including the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act; the end of "Don't ask, don't tell" and his endorsement of gay marriage; passage of Wall Street reform, including the creation of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau; reform of the student-loan program; his appointments of Elena Kagan and Sonia Sotomayor to the Supreme Court, checking the right-wing drift in the judiciary that gave us decisions like *Citizens United*; and many of the investments in the stimulus package, notably in clean energy. In quieter times, these would be playing a much larger role in the campaign.

All are part of the case for Obama. But the best reason for his re-election goes back to what motivated so many middle-of-the-road voters four years ago. Americans who want to replace polarization

The election represents a choice between balance and a new, extreme form of conservatism

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decline and who always insist that the good old days should be our standard for the future. A nation that has produced Greatest Generations in the past can do so again. Indeed, I think we're doing so right now.

In making electoral decisions, voters sensibly combine hard judgments about where candidates stand with instinctive calculations about how character might influence their choices in situations we cannot imagine today.

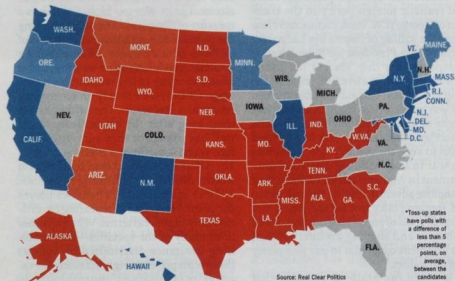
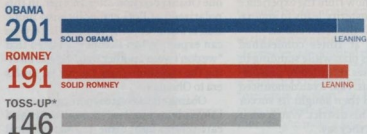
Ronald Reagan offered the most widely honored question about the practical matters: Are you better off than you were four years ago? And for most of the country, the answer is yes. Obama inherited an economy in shambles—the GDP was shrinking at an annual rate of nearly 9% when he took office—and turned it around. Unemployment is well down from its peak, 4.5 million private-sector jobs have been created since January 2010, the stock market has doubled since it hit bottom, and the housing market is stabilizing. Mitt Romney can promise 12 million more jobs in the coming four years because Obama's policies have already put us on track to produce them, courtesy of a revival of manufacturing, a rise in exports and a new wave of research and innovation.

Most relevant to this year's choice is the fact that the economy is in far better shape than it would have been if we had followed

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## Where We Stand

The electoral map gives President Obama a slight edge over Mitt Romney, but the GOP nominee has closed the gap over the past month. Polls in swing states are tight, and either candidate could win



## Previous Contests

**Gore** 266 **Bush** 271



**2000**

The closest election in modern history was concluded with a Florida recount and a controversial Supreme Court decision. The court handed **George W. Bush the Electoral College victory**, though Al Gore won the popular vote by half a million votes

**Kerry** 251 **Bush** 286



**2004**

As a wartime incumbent in the wake of the September 11 attacks, Bush scored a **more decisive victory** over Democrat John Kerry. **Bush won the popular vote by 3 million ballots**

**Obama** 365 **McCain** 173



**2008**

The **lack of an incumbent** drew a crowd of candidates from both sides of the aisle, and the country bet on a message of change, electing the nation's first black President. **Barack Obama won the popular ballot by 9.5 million votes**

*continued from page 44*

mess" (and by extension, that Romney's would do the same) is better partisanship than history. In 2007, years after the Bush tax cuts, the budget deficit was all of \$161 billion. There is no plausible economic theory by which tax cuts caused the housing bubble and subsequent financial crisis.

The mantra that Obama saved us from another Great Depression rings hollow since the recession officially ended in June 2009, before any of his policies had a chance to take effect. He shot \$800 billion on the stimulus and got nothing for it except some pleased spendthrift allies in Congress. His faith was in a simplistic Keynesianism that said willy-nilly government spending could cure the downturn. Alas, the economy is more complicated than that.

His green-energy program has been an expensive fizzle. By one estimate, the green jobs created by the stimulus cost \$5 million a pop. After all the subsidies, renewable energy increased from 7.2% of total energy consumption in 2008 all the way to 9.4% in 2011. The Department of Energy predicts that renewables will still constitute less than 11% of total energy consumption in 2035.

The vaunted auto bailout, the second half of the Joe Biden rallying cry "Osama bin Laden is dead, GM is alive!" doesn't bear much scrutiny. The GM bailout cost

some \$35 billion. For that kind of coin we could have saved Borders, Tower Records and Circuit City Stores. GM certainly could have gone through a less politicized and more thoroughgoing traditional bankruptcy (with some government financing if necessary), without getting liquidated. Amusingly, at the same time the President touts a witless "new economic patriotism," he brags about saving Chrysler so it could be promptly handed over to an Italian company, Fiat.

Foreign policy hasn't figured very much in the campaign, although it has played out against the backdrop of the unraveling of Obama's Mideast policy, punctuated by the debacle at Benghazi, Libya. At the beginning of his Administration he acted as if the mere advent of himself as President would secure our position in the region. Not so. His drone strikes have been admirably deadly, and he made the right call on bin Laden, but otherwise we are worse off than we were four years ago. Iran is closer to a bomb. Egypt is in the hands of the Muslim Brotherhood. Iraq is sliding the wrong way. Pakistan hates us. And the President looks willing to quit in Afghanistan no matter the consequences.

In the final days of the campaign, the President is pounding away at Romney's trustworthiness, because the former Massachusetts governor isn't consistent enough for his taste. This is rich. Obama ran to Hillary Clinton's left in 2008 and then sounded beguilingly moderate in the general election. He embraced the basic legal architecture of George W. Bush's war on terror as President after denouncing it for years. He was against the individual mandate before he was for it and insisted it wasn't a tax before his legal team told the Supreme Court the opposite. He was for same-sex marriage before he was insincerely against it, before he was for it yet again.

This would have seemed shocking to say just four years ago, but another reason to hope for the retirement of President Obama is that it would improve the tone of our politics. Whatever his failings, Romney is unlikely to demonstrate the same high-handed contempt for the other party that Obama has, or the same shocking classlessness. It's impossible to imagine Romney ever publicly calling anyone a bulls—er. Mitt Romney is a prudent and decent man who seeks to be a center-right President for a center-right country. Hire him. ■

Lowry is editor of National Review

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with balance, extremism with moderation, obstruction with problem solving and blind partisanship with compromise need Obama to win again. An Obama defeat would empower those whose go-for-broke approach to politics is largely responsible for the distemper of our public life and the dysfunction in Washington.

This election does not represent a choice between left and right. It represents a choice between balance and a new, extreme form of conservatism. This new conservatism cannot accept any tax increases as part of a deal to reduce the deficit. For all his attempts to sound moderate in the campaign's closing days, Romney has not altered the response he gave during a Republican primary debate rejecting a hypothetical deal involving a 10-to-1 ratio between spending cuts and tax increases. This refusal to acknowledge the need for more revenue is a recipe for eviscerating government—and the cuts, as Ryan's budget shows, would fall disproportionately on programs for Americans with the lowest incomes.

The new right has broken with conservatism's past—and our country's most constructive traditions—by adopting a new and radical individualism that largely ignores our country's gift for community.

The America of Alexander Hamilton, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln and both

the Republican and Democratic Roosevelts understood that government has a role to play in tempering the market and making investments the market depends on but will not make itself. The new conservatism measures freedom almost entirely in terms of the share of the nation's GDP that flows to the state, as if spending on Medicare, Social Security, student loans, community colleges and infrastructure improvements somehow made us less "free." And in the face of growing economic inequality, the new conservatism regularly discounts or condemns government's role in leaning toward modestly greater equity, promoting upward mobility and checking concentrated economic power. It is this variety of conservatism that Romney bowed to in the primaries and would be forced to accommodate if he became President, whatever his constantly shifting views might actually be.

Obama, to a fault, devoted enormous energy during his first 2½ years in office trying to move his opponents to compromise. Thus was almost a third of his stimulus plan devoted to tax cuts. Thus did he model his health care plan after Romney's in Massachusetts. Thus did he seek a deal with House Speaker John Boehner during the debt-ceiling confrontation that, if enacted, would have disappointed many of the President's progressive supporters. Only those who confuse compromise with capitulation can claim that Obama did not try mightily to keep his promise to end partisanship in Washington.

Obama should win a referendum on his stewardship. But this is also a choice—a "big choice," just as Romney says—between moderation and a return to an approach to government more suited to the Gilded Age than to the 21st century. Obama is battling to defend the long consensus that has guided American government successfully since the Progressive Era. It is based on the view that ours is a country whose Constitution begins with the word *we*, not *me*, and that the private success we honor depends on a government that serves a common good and remembers the most vulnerable among us. The task of our moment is to revive that long consensus and renew it. Of the two major candidates, only Barack Obama accepts this mission as his own. ■

Dionne is a Washington Post columnist and the author of *Our Divided Political Heart* (Bloomsbury). He is a professor at Georgetown



ELECTION  
2012  
The  
Choice

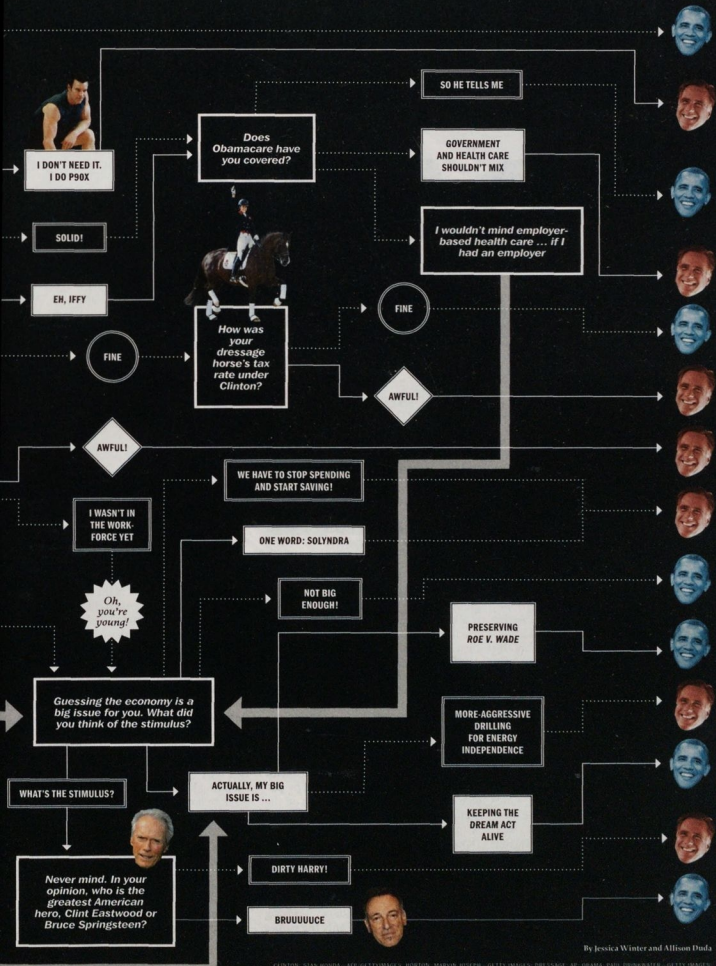
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UP AFTER 18 MONTHS  
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THINK IT'S ALL A  
"BUNCH OF STUFF"?  
FRET NOT!  
HELP US HELP YOU  
MAKE YOUR

# EXECUTIVE DECISION

BY ANSWERING  
A FEW SIMPLE  
QUESTIONS ABOUT  
YOUR PRIORITIES,  
YOUR OUTLOOK AND  
(WHERE APPLICABLE)  
YOUR EQUESTRIAN TAX  
BURDEN, YOUR VOTE  
WILL BE READY IN  
MINUTES!







By Jessica Winter and Allison Duda

KENTON: STAN KORDA - AP; GETTY IMAGES; HORTON: MARVIN JOSEPH - GETTY IMAGES; DRESSAGE: AP; OBAMA: PAUL DRONWATER - GETTY IMAGES; ROMNEY: EMANUEL DUNAND - AP; GETTY IMAGES; SPRINGSTEEN: BRUCE GUNICK - GETTY IMAGES; EASTWOOD: JEFFREY MAYER - GETTY IMAGES

# DARK MONEY

More than \$200 million spent on this election came from faceless donors. A *TIME*/ProPublica report on how mystery cash is changing American politics

BY MICHAEL SCHERER

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ABOUT A WEEK BEFORE ELECTION DAY, A young girl, maybe 10 years old, confronted Colorado House candidate Sal Pace in a pew at his Pueblo church. "She said, 'Is it true that you want to cut my grandmother's Medicare?'" Pace remembers.

Like many other Democrats around the country, Pace has spent months trying to rebut the charge that President Obama's health care reforms hurt Grandma by cutting Medicare by \$716 billion. In fact, the same cuts in payments to medical providers found in Obamacare can also be found in the House Republican budget, and they do not directly limit patient care. "I told the little girl that the ads are full of lies and that it's not right for people to lie," he said.

What Pace couldn't tell the girl was who exactly is to blame. That's because the money men behind the outfit spending the most on the Medicare attack ads in Pace's district will not show their faces. The money is being spent through a Washington-based group, Americans for Tax Reform (ATR), that calls itself a "social welfare" nonprofit, so it does not need to reveal its

donors to the public. In mid-October, the group popped up in Pace's district, which is about the size of New York State, and promised to spend \$1.3 million there in the campaign's final three weeks. In one day, Pace spokesman James Dakin Owens said, "They basically matched us dollar for dollar for everything we had raised in the campaign. It was an 800-pound gorilla that just jumped in."

This sort of thing has been happening a lot this year in House and Senate races around the country. Candidates have found their modest war chests, filled with checks for \$2,500 or less, swamped by outside groups, which have no limits on the donations they can collect. In all, more than \$800 million was spent through mid-October on election ads by outside groups, according to the Center for Responsive Politics. Of that total, nearly 1 in 4 dollars is so-called dark money, meaning the identities of the donors remain a secret. Voters watching TV, listening to the radio or receiving direct-mail appeals know only the names of the front organizations that bought the

ads, names that range from the well known (U.S. Chamber of Commerce) to the anodyne (Government Integrity Fund) to the borderline absurd (America Is Not Stupid).

Spending by outside groups is nothing new in American politics. The Willie Horton ad attacking Michael Dukakis in the 1988 presidential campaign was paid for by an outside group, as were the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth spots that skewered John Kerry in 2004. But in the past two years, American politics has been transformed by a surge in spending. One fact tells the story: explicit political-ad spending by outside groups in 2012 is on track to double the combined total spent by outside groups in each of the four elections since 2002.

Ads purchased with untraceable money tend to be among the most vicious. Nearly 9 in 10 dark-money spots are negative, and an analysis by the Annenberg Public Policy Center found that 26% of the ads are deceptive, a slightly higher rate than that for ads by groups that disclose their donors' identities. In a year that has been



marked by enormous enthusiasm among wealthy conservatives, there is another trend in anonymous spending: almost all of it—83%, according to one review—has been directed against Democrats. This has some in Obama's party fretting about the outsize ability of wealthy individuals and institutions to shape the electoral landscape while hiding their identities behind front groups. "If we don't find some way to respond to this, it's going to turn us into a plutocracy, where a very few powerful people control the public agenda," said former Ohio governor Ted Strickland.

Most of the secretive spending this year has been coordinated through a close-knit network of veteran Republican strategists in Washington who meet regularly to share polling data and decide which group should focus on what races around the country. "There's no duplication. There's no wasteful survey research done," says Scott Reed, a Republican consultant working on the U.S. Chamber of Commerce advertising effort. "They have totally changed the way you run a campaign."

The man behind the Colorado ads, Grover Norquist, is not shy about discussing the mechanics behind mounting multimillion-dollar dark-money campaigns. His organization works closely with such other dark-money giants as the U.S. Chamber, Crossroads GPS, co-founded by Karl Rove, a former adviser to George W. Bush; and Americans for Prosperity, founded by Charles and David Koch. While the groups can't talk to campaigns, they can talk to one another. "For years, coordination was the thing you couldn't do," Norquist says about the shift in power from campaigns to outside groups. "Now it's the thing you are most allowed to do."

Not only do the groups share strategy, but they can share money as well. Under current rules, many campaign-finance lawyers say, nondisclosing groups must spend less than half their budget on political communications to keep their social-welfare status. In practice, this means there is a cost to anonymity. For every dollar spent on a dark-money political ad, another dollar must be spent on some nonpolitical effort. But by sharing, these groups have found ways to make the money go further.

In 2010, Crossroads GPS gave a \$4 million grant to Norquist's group, ATR—money that was earmarked for non-political activities. Norquist used the money to finance his regular operations, freeing

## DARK GOES LOCAL

BY JUSTIN ELLIOTT/PROPUBLICA

When a question about the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative (RGGI) came up in a New Hampshire gubernatorial debate in September, the candidates' answers hardly mattered. Even before a word had been spoken, the big winner was Americans for Prosperity (AFP), the Koch brothers-backed group that has made the fight against the controversial regional cap-and-trade initiative into a crusade.

The group's New Hampshire arm has funded two years' worth of robo-calls, mailers and radio ads to try to persuade Granite State voters to end the state's participation in the program, which AFP views as a tax on energy. Though less eye-catching than the tens of millions of dollars AFP has poured into the presidential race, the group's effort in New Hampshire shows how a little bit of dark money can go a long way in state-level fights. Nonprofits funded by anonymous donations have swooped in to finance ballot measures and state races around the country in 2012. The lowa-based American Future Fund gave \$4 million to support a California proposition that would limit labor unions' political fundraising. The American Federation for Children, a Washington, D.C., pro-school-voucher group, paid for mailers and ran ads supporting friendly state-legislature candidates in Florida and Wisconsin.

It's unknown how much AFP is spending in New Hampshire, as such expenditures do not have to be reported under the state's campaign-finance laws. But if AFP will not say how much it has spent trying to



# 10%

Estimated carbon-dioxide reduction under regional emissions program from 2015 to 2018

kill RGGI, it is not shy about taking credit for putting the program front and center at polling places this week.

"This is an issue being discussed in the gubernatorial debate," Corey Lewandowski, AFP's New Hampshire state director, says. "Our education campaign has made a major impact."

New Hampshire and eight other states participate in RGGI, a regional agreement under which limits are placed on carbon emissions at power plants and emission allowances are auctioned to utilities. States have used the proceeds from those sales to pay for energy-efficiency programs since 2008. But the program is opposed by conservative groups that believe the threat of climate change is overstated. This summer, the state legislature in Concord passed an

AFP-supported bill requiring New Hampshire to withdraw from RGGI if two other New England states pull out. Last year, following another AFP campaign, New Jersey Governor Chris Christie withdrew from RGGI.

AFP has helped make RGGI's future a significant issue in the New Hampshire governor's race. Republican Ovide Lamontagne, crowned "conservative of the year" by AFP in 2011, promises repeal. At the September debate, Democrat Maggie Hassan, who helped pass RGGI as a state senator, said, "I was proud to be a sponsor of that tax—uh—the energy-efficiency program."

AFP pounced. A radio ad from the group repeatedly plays the audio of Hassan calling the program "that tax."

Days before the election, the race is a dead heat.



# A POP-UP PROBLEM

BY KIM BARKER/PROPUBLICA



Proportion of nonprofits active in the 2010 election that initially told the IRS they would not do politics

44%

The rules and regulations governing dark-money groups are almost as mystifying as the names of their donors. In general, the Federal Election Commission requires groups that make electing candidates their "major purpose" to register as political committees, which means they have to disclose their donors.

But other groups can remain obscure simply by telling the FEC that their major purpose is not electing candidates—that they are, rather, "social welfare" nonprofits or trade associations. That means they have to identify only those donors who specifically earmark their money for political ads—something that rarely happens.

Under the tax code, these groups don't have to publicly report any of their donors' names. They are allowed to support candidates for office as long as promoting social welfare or industry

is their primary purpose. But politics moves much faster than federal agencies, and by the time the Internal Revenue Service discovers that a group has crossed the line from nonprofit promotion to politicking, many operators have boarded up shop and moved on.

Take the liberal group Americans for Stable Quality Care. A rare coalition of pharmaceutical and health-care associations and unions, it spent more than \$43 million in 2009 on ads promoting health care reform. After reform passed in 2010, the group changed its name to the Citizens for Strength and Security Action Fund and spent almost \$3 million supporting liberal candidates for office in the midterms. After the 2010 elections, the group went dormant, and its website was taken down.

But in 2011, a new group formed: the Citizens for Strength and Security

Fund, with the same Beltway consulting firm and the same clip art and message as the action fund's website. It has spent an unknown amount on ads criticizing the Republican candidates for Senate in Montana and New Mexico this year. But finding out much more than that is difficult. The group's address is a post-office box. Neither of the two people listed as being in charge returned calls for comment or replied to an e-mail submitted via the group's website.

A ProPublica examination of 72 nonprofits active in the 2010 election found that 32 that initially told the IRS they would not be involved in politics eventually filed tax returns revealing that they were. Many of these nonprofits are pop-up groups—outfits that form quickly just before an election, spend on one campaign or another and then disband, sometimes after filing just one tax return. By the time the IRS has time to investigate, some groups have ceased to exist.

The IRS, which assigns less than 1% of its staff to overseeing nonprofits, told Congress in September that more than 1,600 groups were seeking recognition as social-welfare nonprofits. Not all are political, of course, but it's safe to assume that a growing number aren't strictly charitable, either. "The corruption of democracy by these groups is going to grow far worse in the years ahead," said Fred Wertheimer, president of Democracy 21, which works to shrink the influence of money in politics. "This is just the beginning."

ProPublica is an independent, nonprofit newsroom based in New York City

up about \$4 million from other sources to spend on political communication. In effect, the nonpolitical Crossroads GPS money was transformed into political money by passing it through ATR. "That is part of the sales pitch you make to donors," Norquist explained. "If you contribute a dollar to ATR, you are freeing up another dollar that you have already raised."

Norquist would not say if he had received another large grant from Crossroads GPS this cycle, but he did say he expects the group's political spending to have nearly tripled in 2012 to about \$12 million. As for Pace, Norquist said the ads running in Colorado are meant as punishment for the candidate's voting record in the state legislature. "What does he think we are going to do?" Norquist asked. "The tax-raising twin."

Federal oversight of these groups is close to nonexistent. Of the roughly 104,000 people who work for the Internal Revenue Service, about 900 work in the tax-exempt division that monitors this spending. There is little hope of forcing groups like Norquist's to disclose the identities of their donors. Republicans oppose such steps, and the courts have made it easier for the groups to operate secretly. A 2010 decision by the Supreme Court overturned a law banning unions and corporations from giving directly to efforts intended to influence elections. A subsequent court ruling created super PACs, independent groups that buy campaign ads with unlimited checks from disclosed donors. They now work in tandem with dark-money groups in races around the country.

That means there are likely to be far more candidates facing Pace's predicament. In California's Central Valley, José Hernández, a former farmworker and NASA astronaut, has been withstanding blistering attacks on television from outside groups as he challenges Representative Jeff Denham, a freshman Republican. Over the course of the year, Hernández has faced \$3.1 million in outside spending against him, by the U.S. Chamber and a group called the American Action Network, neither of which discloses its donors. That is more than twice as much as Hernández has been able to raise for his campaign. "These folks have been throwing everything on the wall to see what will stick," says Hernández. "It makes our job harder, but a lot of people see through all of this." The election on Nov. 6 will tell how many. —WITH REPORTING BY KIM BARKER AND JUSTIN ELLIOTT/PROPUBLICA ■

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\*Based on cumulative total return, 12 of 12, 12 of 12, 12 of 12, 5 of 5, and 7 of 7 of the Retirement Funds for individual investors outperformed their Lipper average for the 1-, 3-, 5-, and 10-year and since-inception periods ended 9/30/12, respectively. The Retirement 2010, 2020, 2030, 2040, and Income Funds began operations on 9/30/02; the 2005, 2015, 2025, and 2035 Funds began operations on 2/28/04; the 2045 Fund began operations on 5/31/05; and the 2050 and 2055 Funds began operations on 12/31/06. (Source for data: Lipper Inc.)

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# 25

## BEST INVENTIONS OF THE YEAR

Robots, rovers and the rest of 2012's most important innovations, from the affordable to the extreme



These 3-D letters were created using a stunningly inexpensive, user-friendly new desktop printer

## THE 25 BEST INVENTIONS OF THE YEAR

PRICELESS

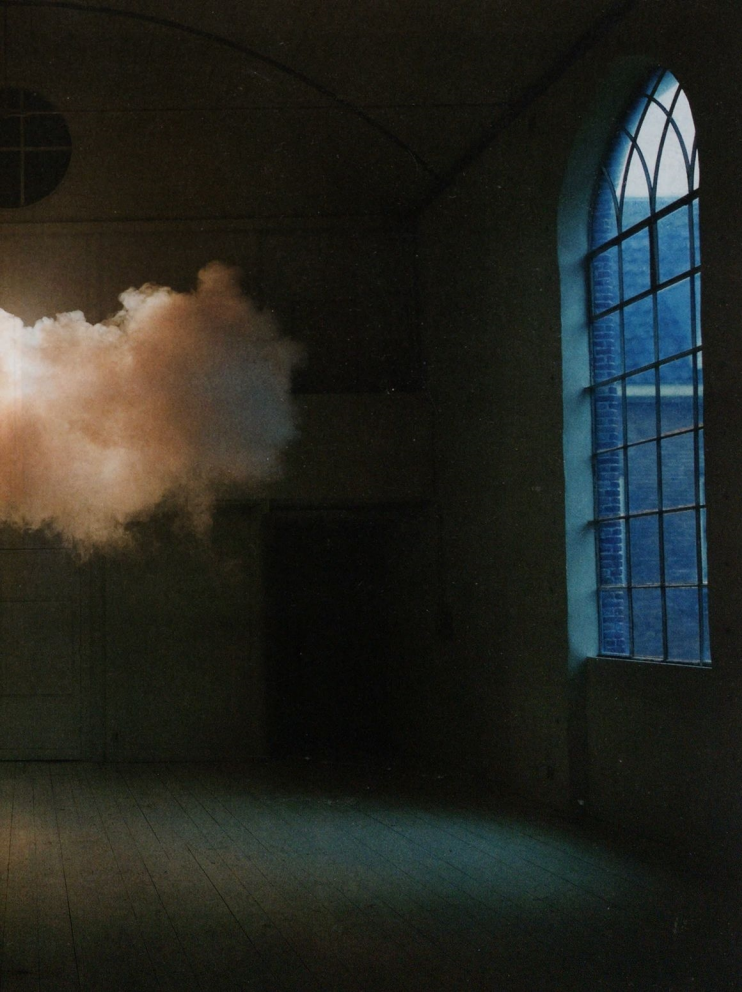
EXPENSIVE

### INDOOR CLOUDS

**PRICELESS** That's not Photoshop. The Dutch artist Berndnaut Smilde has developed a way to create a small, perfect white cloud in the middle of a room. It requires meticulous planning: the temperature, humidity and lighting all have to be just so. Once everything is ready, Smilde summons the cloud out of the air using a fog machine. It lasts only moments, but the effect is dramatic and strangely moving. It evokes both the surrealism of Magritte and the classical beauty of the old masters while reminding us of the ephemerality of art and nature.

Photograph by Cassander Eeftinck Schattenkerk





## THE 25 BEST INVENTIONS OF THE YEAR

CHEAP

FREE-\$150

EXPENSIVE

### The Civilization Starter Kit

**PRICE: FREE** Marcin Jakubowski built a tractor in six days. Then he told the world how to do it: he made the designs, the budget and an instructional video available free online. A farmer and technologist and the founder of Open Source Ecology, Jakubowski has identified the 50 most important machines required

for modern life—from the soil pulverizer to the oven—and is working to make a prototype of a low-cost DIY version of each so that anyone anywhere can build them. “If we can lower the barriers to farming, building and manufacturing,” he says, “then we can unleash massive amounts of human potential.”



### THE MOTION-ACTIVATED SCREWDRIVER

**PRICE: \$40** The sensors found in smart phones and Nintendo Wii controllers have migrated into Black & Decker's cordless 4v MAX Gyro, billed as the world's first motion-activated screwdriver. Tilt it right by a mere quarter of an inch and it screws clockwise to tighten; left, and it turns counterclockwise—all thanks to an internal gyroscope that senses wrist motions, which are measured by a small microprocessor that turns those movements into changes in the drill's speed and direction.



### LiquiGlide

**PRICE: 25¢ PER BOTTLE (ESTIMATED)** Five MIT students and their professor Kripa Varanasi have come up with a way to make a surface that anything will slide off—from ketchup out of bottles to ice off airplane wings. The plant-based product adds a microscopic slippery coating to almost any material—glass, ceramic, metal or plastic.



### OraQuick Home HIV Test

**PRICE: \$40** With just a swab of saliva and 20 minutes, OraQuick can identify the antibodies that signal HIV infection. It's the first DIY test for HIV—the same one that health professionals use but without the trip to a doctor's office or the need to wait days for results. The kit includes a 24-hour help line and resources for dealing with a positive result.

STARTING AT: JAKUBOWSKI—OPEN SOURCE ECOLOGY; LIQUIGLIDE: MIT VARANASI RESEARCH GROUP; ORAQUICK: SCIENTIFIC DATA CORP.

TEFLON

CHROMIUM

DIAMOND-LIKE CARBON

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## Eliodomestic Solar Water Distiller

**PRICE: \$50** Freelance designer Gabriele Diamanti created this solar-powered distiller for use in coastal areas in the third world that are deprived of freshwater. It is half as expensive and 67% more efficient than existing models, and his hope is that local manufacturers will adopt the open-source design and mass-produce it for local populations.



## Enable Talk Gloves

**PRICE: \$75** Four Ukrainian students have created gloves that allow speech- and hearing-impaired people to communicate with those who don't use or understand sign language. The gloves are equipped with sensors that recognize sign language and translate it into text on a smart phone, which then converts the text to spoken words.

1. Sign the word *hello* while wearing gloves



2. The word appears on and is spoken by your phone



## TECHPET

**PRICE: \$59.99**  
Remember Tamagotchi? A new toy from Bandal,

the company that gave us that classic virtual pet, goes even further. Download the TechPet app, dock an iPhone in the robotic doggy frame, and turn your phone into the cartoon face of a canine that's eager to be fed via touchscreen. This puppy even recognizes gestures and verbal commands via the phone's camera and microphone.



## Nike Flyknit Racer

**PRICE: \$150** By knitting thread into a single layer to fit around your foot—instead of cutting and sewing together multiple materials—engineers at Nike not only made this sneaker lighter (just 5.6 oz., or 160 g) but also gave it a precision fit: the weave alternately grips and gives despite the absence of liners or reinforcements. Plus, it's eco-friendly, with less waste left on the factory floor.





## Special Issue

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**IN RE AURORA DAIRY CORP.  
ORGANIC MILK MARKETING AND  
SALES PRACTICES LITIGATION  
in the U.S. District Court, Eastern District  
of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri  
NOTICE OF PROPOSED SETTLEMENT OF  
CLASS ACTION AND FAIRNESS HEARING  
FOR COMPENSATION  
AND RELEASE OF CLAIMS**

If you purchased Milk Products (organic milk and/or butter) produced by Aurora Organic Dairy and sold in the U.S. under certain brands, including Aurora Organic Dairy's "High Meadow" brand, Costco's "Kirkland" brand, Safeway's "Safeway Select" and "O Organics" brands, Target's "Archer Farms" brand, Wal-Mart's "Great Value" brand, and/or Wild Oats' "Wild Oats" brand, you may be entitled to compensation.

**WHAT IS THIS LAWSUIT ABOUT?**

Consumers sued Aurora Dairy Corporation ("Aurora Organic Dairy") and Costco Wholesale Corporation, Safeway Inc., Target Corporation, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. and Wild Oats Markets, Inc. (now known as WFM-WO, Inc., but referred to herein as "Wild Oats," and collectively with Costco, Safeway, Target and Wal-Mart, "Retailer Defendants") and claimed that Aurora Organic Dairy and the Retailer Defendants (collectively "Defendants") violated state consumer fraud and deceptive business practices acts, express and implied warranty statutes, and unjust enrichment laws, in connection with the sale and marketing of certain Milk Products (organic milk, organic butter, organic cream, and organic non-fat dry milk). These Milk Products include but are not limited to those sold under Aurora's "High Meadow" brand, Costco's "Kirkland" brand, Safeway's "Safeway Select" and "O Organics" brands, Target's "Archer Farms" brand, Wal-Mart's "Great Value" brand, and Wild Oats' "Wild Oats" brand. Defendants deny all allegations of wrongdoing and assert that their conduct was proper and lawful. The Court has not decided who is right and who is wrong.

**WHAT ARE THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT?**

Under the terms of the proposed settlement, each Settlement Class member who submits a valid claim may be entitled to money. Aurora Organic Dairy and its insurers have agreed to pay \$7,500,000.00 to cover claims and other settlement costs including notice and administration costs, attorneys' fees and expenses and service awards. Aurora Organic Dairy has also agreed to certain injunctive relief. For more details, write to the address or visit the website identified below.

**ARE YOU AFFECTED?**

If you purchased any of the Milk Products in the U.S. for personal, family or household use on or before September 14, 2012, then you are a member of the Settlement Class. Be sure to visit the Settlement Website for complete class member information.

**WHAT ARE MY LEGAL RIGHTS?**

You have a choice of whether to stay in the Settlement Class or not, and you must decide now.

**Stay In.** You will be legally bound by the terms of the settlement, and you won't be able to sue Defendants—as part of any other lawsuit—for any claims arising from or related to the Milk Products. To receive benefits from the settlement, you must submit a valid, sworn Claim Form. The Claim Form must be postmarked, facsimile, or submitted online by March 13, 2013. Any member of the Settlement Class who does not timely submit a valid, sworn Claim Form will not be entitled to settlement benefits.

**To file a Claim Form, visit**

[www.OrganicMilkMarketingSettlement.com](http://www.OrganicMilkMarketingSettlement.com)

**Get Out.** If you get out, you will not receive benefits from the proposed settlement, but you will keep rights to sue Defendants for these claims, and will not be bound by the terms of the settlement. To be excluded from the Settlement Class, you must act by January 28, 2013. If you wish to be excluded from the Settlement Class visit [www.OrganicMilkMarketingSettlement.com](http://www.OrganicMilkMarketingSettlement.com) or write to Aurora Organic Dairy Litigation Settlement, c/o Gilardi & Co. LLC, P.O. Box 8090 San Rafael, CA 94912-8090.

**Object.** If you stay in any settlement class, you can object to the Settlement and must act by January 28, 2013.

**WHO REPRESENTS ME?**

The Court appointed Hagens Berman Sobol Shapiro LLP and Ritter, Gray & Graham P.C. to represent the Settlement Class. You may hire your own attorney, if you wish, at your own expense.

**THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT:**

The Court will hold a Fairness Hearing on February 26, 2013, at 9:00 a.m. CST, to determine whether the proposed settlement is fair, reasonable, and adequate and to approve attorney's fees and costs. The Hearing is at the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, 111 S. 10th Street, St. Louis, MO 63102. If you are a member of the Settlement Class who did not seek to be excluded, you may write to the Court to object to the proposed settlement, and you may ask speak at the hearing about the fairness of the proposed settlement.

**HOW CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION?**

If you have questions visit,

[www.OrganicMilkMarketingSettlement.com](http://www.OrganicMilkMarketingSettlement.com)

call 1-877-280-8361, or write to Aurora

Organic Dairy Litigation Settlement,

c/o Gilardi & Co. LLC, P.O. Box 808003,

Petaluma, CA 94975-8003.W

# THE 25 BEST INVENTIONS OF THE YEAR

CHEAP

\$200-\$550

EXPENSIVE



## SELF-INFLATING TIRES

PRICE: \$200 EACH (ESTIMATED)

As soon as the pressure in these Goodyear tires (which don't have an official retail price yet) gets too low, they know it. An internal pressure regulator opens to allow air to flow into a pumping tube, and as the wheel turns, the flattened part helps squeeze air from the tube through an inlet valve into the tire. Once the air pressure hits an optimal level, the regulator closes—all without the driver's realizing anything was wrong.



## Bounce Imaging

PRICE: \$500 (ESTIMATED) An MIT student and an Army Ranger have come up with a way to provide first responders with the kind of technology elite SEAL teams have. To give firefighters and cops a full picture of a burning building or a hostage situation, the baseball-size orb is tossed into the area. Its six cameras snap pictures while its sensors detect air quality, temperature, radiation and other hazards. It then beams the data to mobile devices.



## Body Armor for Women

PRICE: \$555 Women are not small men. Finally realizing this, the U.S. military is testing body armor designed expressly for a woman's body. Current designs are too loose and too long, leaving women vulnerable to bullets and shrapnel. Even a men's extra-small is too big for 85% of female troops. The 101st Airborne Division's 1st Brigade will test the new armor during an upcoming deployment to Afghanistan.

THE BOUNCE IMAGING: DAN FORBES FOR TIME; THE BODY ARMOR: STEPHEN VALES FOR TIME



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## Sony RX100 Digital Camera

**PRICE: \$649.99** Digital cameras have been getting smaller and more capable every year, but that trend took a huge leap forward in 2012 with the Sony RX100, which bridges the gap between point-and-shoots and pro-quality digital SLRs. Sony's innovative design and 1-in. (2.5 cm) sensor allow the camera to take flawless photos even though it's 20% slimmer than your average digital SLR—small enough to fit in your pocket.



## Wingsuit Racing

**PRICE: \$600-\$2,000**

**PER WINGSUIT** Flying humans wearing batlike suits competed in October in the first ever Wingsuit Flying World Championship in China. Participants descended from 5,000-ft. (1,500 m) cliffs, glided through a valley course and eventually parachuted down, covering about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile (more than a kilometer) in about 30 seconds. The winner: South African Julian Bouillie—one of just 20 people currently qualified to compete—who finished in 23.41 sec., a world record.



Apps respond to voice commands and touch controls in the earpiece

As small and light as it is—it weighs about as much as a pair of sunglasses—future versions will only get slimmer

The frame contains the processor, camera, battery, microphone and sensors, as well as wi-fi and Bluetooth antennas

## GOOGLE GLASS

**PRICE: \$1,500** Glass is, simply put, a computer built into the frame of a pair of glasses, and it's the device that will make augmented reality part of our daily lives. With the half-inch (1.3 cm) display, which comes into focus when you look up and to the right, users will be able to take and share photos, video-chat, check appointments and access maps and the Web. Consumers should be able to buy Google Glass by 2014.



## The MakerBot Replicator 2

**PRICE: \$2,199** Download or create a design, hit Print, and watch as this sleek, desktop-size 3D printer extrudes ultra-thin plastic layers, each melting into the one below to create an object—or, if you want, hundreds of copies of it. The latest model from Brooklyn-based MakerBot prints bigger, faster and more precisely than its predecessor. And with more intuitive software and no assembly required, the upgraded Replicator means that anyone's home can become a mini factory.





A garden fit for a king.

# MANSION

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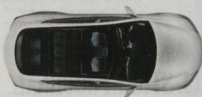
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**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.**

**BAXTER**

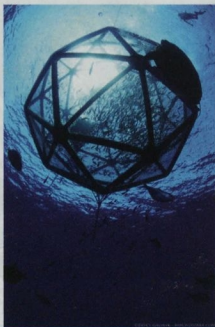
**PRICE: \$22,000** Conventional industrial robots are scary behemoths, but Baxter is a new breed. The latest brainchild of celebrity roboticist Rodney Brooks, who helped invent the Roomba, Baxter is built for light repetitive tasks like packing and sorting. And it's cheap enough and user-friendly enough—look at that face—for small outfits that otherwise couldn't afford a robot worker.

**The Tesla Model S**

**PRICE: \$49,900** This electric four-door sedan has the lines of a Jaguar, the ability to zip for 265 miles (426 km) on one charge—that's the equivalent of 89 m.p.g. (2.6 L/100 km)—and touchscreen controls for everything from GPS navigation to adjusting the suspension. Tesla is building a network of supercharger stations—six are open so far—so owners aren't tethered to their home port.

**The Switchblade Drone**

**PRICE: \$40,000–\$150,000 (ESTIMATED)** At 2 ft. in length and weighing 6 lb. (60 cm, 2.7 kg), the Switchblade drone can be carried into battle in a backpack. It's a kamikaze: the person controlling it uses a real-time video feed from the drone to crash it into a precise target—say, a sniper. Its tiny warhead detonates on impact. In effect, it makes fighters in the field their own air support.

**A Drifting Fish Farm**

**PRICE: \$750,000 (ESTIMATED)** Kampachi Farms, a mariculture company in Hawaii, is devising a way to meet our insatiable desire for sushi with a farming method that has near zero environmental impact. By filling 100-ft. (30 m) copper-alloy mesh cages with fingerlings and letting them drift, the company hopes to harvest thousands of tons of sustainable sashimi-grade kampachi. In 2011 it tested 20-ft. (6 m) pens 3 to 75 miles (5 to 120 km) off Hawaii. After six months, they yielded 10,000 lb. (4,500 kg) of kampachi, which grew twice as fast as expected.

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## NASA'S Z-1 SPACE SUIT

PRICE: \$CLASSIFIED

The biggest thing NASA's first space suits had to do—aside from keep astronauts alive—was to look spacey. So ordinary test-pilot suits were simply redesigned in a nifty silver. Things are harder now as the U.S. prepares for new deep-space missions. The Z-1 space suit provides go-anywhere garb featuring more-flexible joints, radiation protection for long stays in space and a hatch on the back that allows the suit to dock with a portal on a spacecraft or rover so an astronaut can crawl through without letting dust in or air out.

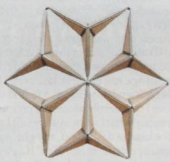
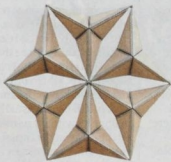
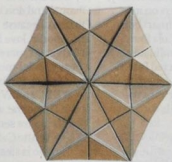
## Element 113

PRICE: \$3 MILLION

After nine years of work, a team led by Kosuke Morita at the RIKEN Nishina Center for Accelerator-Based Science in Japan has created three atoms of the highly unstable superheavy element 113. As yet nameless, it has an enormous nucleus containing 113 protons and 165 neutrons.

## The Deepsea Challenger Submarine

PRICE: \$8 MILLION Better known as the submarine designed by filmmaker James Cameron, the 12-ton, 24-ft.-long (7.3 m) Deepsea Challenger reached the oceans' deepest point—about 7 miles (11 km) below the surface—in the western Pacific in March. Built to withstand 1,000 atmospheres of pressure (or three SUVs sitting on your toe), the sub is equipped with digital 3-D cameras and structured with a vertical axis meant to accelerate its descent.



## Al Bahar Towers

PRICE: \$245 MILLION

In Abu Dhabi, where temperatures peak at well over 100°F (38°C), keeping buildings cool is a challenge. Al Bahar Towers feature a facade with intricately designed shades that open and close in response to the sun, reducing heat gain by more than 50%. Using less air-conditioning helps reduce the towers' carbon emissions by an estimated 1,750 tons per year.



## The Curiosity Rover

PRICE: \$2.5 BILLION NASA had visited Mars but never like this. Curiosity, which landed in Gale Crater in August, is a 1-ton, SUV-size Mars car with more scientific instrumentation—10 times as much, by weight—than ever sent to the Red Planet before. But it was how it got there that really made the machine sublimely cool: the rover was lowered to the ground on cables by a hovering capsule, touching down ballistically in preparation for two years of exploration.



# Joel Stein



## Call Me Maybe?

I was hoping to be courted by the candidates. Alas, they know me too well

I'M SUPPOSED TO BE GETTING A LOT more attention. Sure, I got a couple of robocalls, a few mailers and a bunch of e-mails from Obama with subject lines including "Hey," "Hey," "Hey," "Hey" and "Hey again." But this election was supposed to be more about me. The presidential campaigns data-mined information on my purchases, Web browsing, blog postings, real estate holdings and Facebook friendships in order to find the policies I care deeply about and promise me exactly what I want. And yet all I got were the kind of dashed-off, any-girl-who's-awake e-mails titled "Hey." If a guy's going to get all dressed and go out to a polling station, he'd like to feel special.

A little effort would be easy, since the campaigns know so much about our behavior and, therefore, our political opinions. According to the *New York Times* and a study by CivicScience, they know that people who eat at Red Lobster, shop at Burlington Coat Factory, like George Clooney, have cats, stay up late, watch NBC and listen to smooth jazz are likely Obama supporters, while people who drink Sam Adams, pay for groceries by credit card, go to Olive Garden, watch Fox, love action movies, read political blogs daily and follow college football are more likely to prefer Romney. Voters who visit religious websites get religious messages when they return to either candidate's site. I got "California, get the latest news and updates from the campaign" when I went back to the Romney site. I guess it doesn't have a message programmed for "Thanks for taking a break from porn to learn about my tax plan!"

To encourage the candidates to care more about me, I had visited both barackobama.com and

mittromney.com, knowing they'd drop trackers on me to follow me around the Web to find out what I'm into. In fact, according to the browser extension Ghostery, Obama's site dropped 19 trackers on me and Romney's dropped 15. Walmart bothered with only five, and Coca-Cola four.

Still: nothing. Since the candidates weren't playing along, I contacted Intelli-Global Corp., which buys and sells data and has worked with campaigns in the past. Intelli-Global usually sells data only in bundles without names attached, but after getting my permission to dig, CEO Peter Harvey sent me an 11-page file within 24 hours. He found out that I live in Los Angeles, which, according to his model, is likely to make me a Democrat. However, I own my home, have a high net worth, make more than \$75,000 a year and have a good credit score, which all skew Republican. My purchases and savings put me in the company's "Secured Prosperity" cluster and my lovely wife Cassandra in its "Established Elite" cluster, which are both GOP-trending and horrible names for bowling teams. Despite our Romneysque cluster names, however, Harvey predicted we'd be voting for Obama.

I wanted more detailed information, so I gave Michael Fertik, the CEO of Reputation.com, which lets people pay to

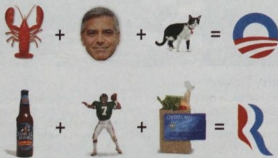
opt out of being tracked, a day to search my online data too. He found out that I'm white (61% likely pro-Romney, according to Fertik's analysis of polls), male (57% Romney), in my 40s (52% Romney) and married (59% Romney) and that I earn more than \$90,000 a year (54% Romney). Also, I am Jewish (70% Obama), live in L.A. (67% Obama), have a postgraduate degree (57% Obama), am a journalist (65% Obama), drive a small car (57% Obama) and don't believe in God (62% Obama). Because I watch *The Daily Show*, am a foodie, love David Letterman, shop at Target far more than Walmart and am a heavy social-media user, I'm likely to be pro-Obama. But because I occasionally eat at KFC and White Castle, I'm probably a Democrat who is unlikely to vote. Which makes sense, since after I eat at KFC or White Castle, the only thing I'm likely to do is sleep off my hangover.

### Fertik said the reason the candidates

didn't bother courting me was that my vote is immutable: I am absolutely going to vote for Obama. All that time I spent investigating the candidates' positions was wasted. I didn't make a choice; I am part of a psychographic whose members all think alike. "If you're on the correct side of the one-way mirror of the Internet, like I am, you get to see that. You're a foregone conclusion for about 90% of what you have to say," Fertik said. "That's only a bummer for you if you believe you have a huge amount of agency. It's not a bummer if you realize you have only a certain amount of time to decide everything." Which sounded smart until I

realized that if I have enough time to hit White Castle at 2 a.m., I probably have enough time to consider who should be President.

That's when I surprised Fertik by telling him that I was deeply considering not voting for Obama. "No, you're not," he said. "You're going to vote, and you're going to vote for Obama." I thought about betting him \$100 but then realized: he knows far more about me than I do.



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# 10 Questions

## Best-selling author **Anne Lamott** on praying, undecided voters and her reading up on Honey Boo Boo

**You've written several best sellers about faith and family, but you're not a conventional Christian author. How do you feel about being the bad girl of the born-again set?**

Well, I don't really see myself as a born-again. I did convert at 31 from being a kind of nondenominational, kitchen-sink believer and seeker, but to my born-again brother, I'm Abbie Hoffman.

**You like to call God Phil. Why?**

It's because of this bracelet a Mexican vendor made. He was supposed to write *Philippians* 4:4-7, which is my favorite passage in the Bible, but his shop got closed down when he got to *Phil*. It got me thinking, Well, Phil's a great name for God.

**Your new book, *Help, Thanks, Wow*, is about prayer. Is there anything you think we shouldn't pray for?**

Arthur Ashe said he never prayed for victory when he played tennis and he wasn't going to pray for healing from AIDS or heart disease, that God's will alone matters. I try to be like that. Some days go better than others. You know, you pray for your family to get a break. You pray that it's not the [auto] transmission.

**You write about being raised in San Francisco to believe that people who prayed were ignorant. Isn't this still the prevailing view among urban elites? I'm not sure that people**

think people who pray are delusional, power-pyramid types so much anymore. Partly, I think, that's because 12-step recovery has

taught a couple million non-Christians to pray.

**Prayer has become, what, respectable? Respectable-ish.**

**I read a review of your book that noted the "stale, career-ending quality of the work." It's a review you wrote. Are you not a fan?**

I'm always very worried that the jig is up and my career's about to be over.

People liked my *Plan B* because it was from such an angry, hostile Christian, and that's pretty hard to resist. With this book, it's kind of scary because it's very vulnerable material.

**In the book, you keep referring to a meth-head cousin. Don't your family members mind that you write about them?**

The thing that I've discovered is that very, very rarely do people recognize themselves if you change their hair color or their name or their height. That meth head is not going to remember that he or she had a conviction that there were snakes in the car radio. What he or she will do is think, Snakes in the car radio—God, what a nut.

**You've compared yourself to Honey Boo Boo. Do you watch her show and think, Well, the apocalypse must be soon?**

I've never actually seen the show, I've only seen her in my magazines. They're my bad little secret. Badder than my candy corn. Don't get me started on those. I'll have them for breakfast.

**As a political liberal and a Christian, what did you feel when Billy Graham came out for Mitt Romney?**

Quelle surprise, as the French say. Everybody knows who they're going to vote for. The people who insist they're undecided—it's like with smoking. What evidence exactly are you waiting on to know that smoking will kill you? What evidence are you exactly waiting on to vote? You know who calls to you.

**You're a grandma now, so the inevitable question arises, Can you still pull off the dreadlocks?** I've always had a policy with my family: You get to have your hair, I get to have my hair. No questions asked.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



Lamott's first best seller was the parenting book *Operating Instructions*







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